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The Strange Career of a Black Utopia
Ethiopia, The Land of Promise. A Book with a Purpose, by Charles Henry Holmes (aka Clayton Adams)

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Abstract   This essay presents archival information about Charles H. Holmes and argues that his understudied novel, *Ethiopia, The Land of Promise* (1917), represents an important chapter in the history of Afrofuturism and American speculative fiction. The literary critical relevance of *Ethiopia* emerges forcefully from Holmes's intertextual dialogue with other utopian and science fiction authors, such as Martin R. Delany, Sutton E. Griggs, Pauline E. Hopkins, Frances E.W. Harper, Edward Bellamy, and W.E.B. Du Bois. Holmes's critique of Jim Crow segregation enables the articulation of a "distinctly revolutionary" project for African American futurity.

Keywords   African American fiction. Afrofuturism. Science fiction. Utopia. Charles Henry Holmes.

Summary   1 The Strange Career of a Black Utopia. – 2 Intertextuality and a "Distinctly Revolutionary" Futurity.

1 The Strange Career of a Black Utopia

For eight months, from March to October 1917, *Ethiopia, The Land of Promise. A Book with a Purpose* (henceforth *Ethiopia*) appeared in "*The Crisis* Advertiser", first among the books on "The Negro and His Problems" (1917a, 252) and, starting in May 1917, among the "BOOKS BY PROMINENT NEGROES". The advertisement specified that *Ethiopia* could be ordered by mail for 1 dollar through the Neale Publishing Company or through *The Crisis* itself.[1] The March 1917 advertisement read:

> Ethiopia   By CLAYTON ADAMS
>
> Mr. Adams, colored, writes of the Land of Promise in this powerful novel, – the adjective is used deliberately. The ancient Kingdom of Ethiopia has passed away, but its name still lives, not only as the proper appellation of the Negro race, but also figuratively, principally to designate the invisible kingdom of native Africans and their descendants. ("*The Crisis* Advertiser" 1917a, 252)[2]

The ad is misleading regarding the author, but revealing about the novel. On the one hand, it lists the author's name as Clayton Adams, without any suggestion of its being the pseudonym of Charles Henry Holmes, who copyrighted the novel on 27 July 1917.[3] Also, contrary to those of the other books in the list, the ad of *Ethiopia* offers no bio-biographical information about the author beyond his racial affiliation ("colored"). On the other hand, the advertisement's brief description of *Ethiopia* foregrounds accurately the Ethiopianist motif of the novel, as it emerges from the title page's shortened epigraph from Psalms 68:31 ("Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands"), as well as from the author's prevailing use of "Ethiop" to refer to African

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[1]   The list of books on "The Negro and His Problems" specified the author's ethnicity, because it included both black and white writers. The word "colored" was dropped when the title of the list changed to "BOOKS BY PROMINENT NEGROES". *Ethiopia* was also listed in the section on "The Negro in Literature in 1917-1918" of the *Negro Year Book* published at Tuskeegee (Work 1919). The section listed "[b]rief reviews" of "books on various topics" published by "Negroes [...] through standard publishing houses" (Work 1919, 133). Holmes's entry reads: "'Ethiopia the Land of Promise' – Clayton Adams; The Cosmopolitan Press, New York 1917, $ 1.00. In the form of a novel, discusses the race problem, especially lynchings. It is crudely written, but contains much truth. Is an addition to the books of fiction which deal with the race problem" (Work 1919, 133).

[2]   The advertisements appropriates the notion of invisibility connected with the "invisible empire" of the Ku Klux Klan. Regarding a similar appropriation by Sutton E. Griggs in *Imperium in Imperio*, see Fabi 2001, 50.

[3]   The Library of Congress received two copies of *Ethiopia*, and the novel was assigned the copyright registration number A476152. The copyright entry acknowledges the pseudonym. It reads "by Clayton Adams [*pseud.*]". See *The National Union Catalog* 1973, 53.

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Americans. In Holmes's novel, however, the term "Ethiopia" is used only "figuratively", as the ad indicates. As critic Hugh M. Gloster has noticed, the novel "belies" the international focus suggested by the title (Gloster 1965, 96). *Ethiopia* promotes a domestic project of cross-class unity and cooperation "of all Ethiopians" in the United States (Holmes 1917, 26).

At the same time, the "Kingdom" Holmes envisions is far from "invisible". It is a black nation-in-the-making with an identifiable land base in the southeast of "Unionland", a thinly disguised toponym for the United States. The members of the novel's black "Decemvirate" (Holmes 1917, 7) are negotiating to acquire "a tract that bordered on the sea coast" (Holmes 1917, 111), where to found a state free from the systematic injustices of segregation that Holmes lists in the Preface: "riots […] in Atlanta, Springfield, New Orleans", "the disarming of the blacks by the militia", the lynching of women and the burning of men of the Ethiopian race", "the peonage system, the insecurity of life for the 'Ethiop', and the total lack of application of the law of the land" when African Americans are concerned (Holmes 1917, 5). The money needed for the purchase of the land has been collected through small donations, "mostly of one dollar" (Holmes 1917, 107), sent by millions of African Americans throughout the country who are in search of a place where to enjoy "untrammelled liberty and freedom" (Holmes 1917, 119) beyond the strictures imposed by Jim Crow.

These brief references to the plot reveal what the advertisement in *The Crisis* omits, i.e., that *Ethiopia* is a work of speculative fiction that portrays African American futurity both by offering a black-centred trenchant critique of the existing Jim Crow regime and by articulating a project to move beyond systematic racialized oppression. *Ethiopia* is an understudied "black militant near-future" novel (Tal 2002, 65) that demands more critical attention and contributes in unique ways to the ongoing scholarly effort to delineate the "prehistory" (Lavender 2019) of contemporary Afrofuturism. Despite its being included in African American bibliographies and discussed, often briefly and mostly with reference to its plot, in various critical essays to the present, *Ethiopia* has received little in-depth critical attention.

In this essay, I present archival information regarding Charles Henry Holmes and offer a close reading of the text. I explore how *Ethiopia* is indeed a "powerful" novel, as it was advertised in the *Crisis*, and how that power emerges most clearly when read within the tradition of African American speculative fiction, whose tropes and conventions were familiar to Holmes. *Ethiopia* dialogues with earlier and contemporaneous works in ways that foreground the characterizing aesthetics and politics of African American speculative fiction. In doing so, the novel creates a counter-public sphere where the black-centred depiction of segregation defies prevailing racist misrepresentations of Jim Crow, while developing the verisimilitude of

the emancipatory counterfactual project. The speculative economy of the novel dialogizes Holmes's systematic critique of present conditions, enabling the articulation of an alternative, if as yet counterfactual, project for African American futurity and liberation.

2 Intertextuality and a "Distinctly Revolutionary" Futurity

The strange, understudied career of this black utopia is both a cause and a result of the lack of biographical information about its author, who remains a mystery man to this day.[4] The perceived need for anonymity that may have motivated Holmes's use of a pseudonym has been more than satisfied. Even the scholars who devote relatively more extended attention to his work have not presented any biographical information about him.[5] His novel is regularly mentioned in literary histories and bibliographies of African American literature, but only a date of birth is indicated (1874).[6] Neither his name nor his authorial pseudonym appear in newspapers in the decade before or after the publication of his novel, and no review of *Ethiopia* is currently available. The biographical information about Charles Henry Holmes that I have been able to locate appears in *Who's Who in the General Conference 1924* (1924), compiled by Richard R. Wright Jr., sociologist, editor, and Bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church and editor of its influential periodical, *The Christian Recorder*. The entry about Holmes reads:

> Holmes, Rev. Charles Henry, was born in Richmond, Va., reared in Texas. He began in the ministry at an early age, was ordained deacon by Bishop Abraham Grant, in Texas, Dec. 9th, 1891, ordained elder by Bishop M.B. Salters in 1900 at Tyler, Texas. He transferred to the Indian Territory 1903, no. Oklahoma. His work is known throughout the State. He knows how to succeed and never to fail. His record to remodel, build churches, parsonages, pay indebtedness on churches when it seemed to be impossible is praiseworthy. He served as a successful pastor in the N.E. Conference and

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4 The phrase "mystery man" riffs on Mary Helen Washington's description of Nella Larsen as the "Mystery Woman of the Harlem Renaissance" (Washington 1980). As in Larsen's case, further research may unearth more information about Holmes.

5 See, for instance, Gloster 1965 or Poikane-Daumke 2006.

6 Holmes's date of birth is indicated in the *The National Union Catalog* 1973, 53. Among the volumes that include references to *Ethiopia*, see Whiteman 1955; Bone 1965; Gloster 1965; Rush, Myers, Arata 1975; Bryant 1997; Van Deburg 2004; Sundquist 1993. The corpus of the History of Black Writing at Kansas University also contains *Ethiopia* (https://hbw.ku.edu/). The title has led a few authors to include Holmes's novel in articles and bibliographies on Ethiopia. See Schuyler 1962 and Metaferia 2009.

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pastored some of the leading charges of this conference. He was transferred to the Central Oklahoma conference in 1915 and has pastored all the leading stations of this conference. His present appointment is in Chickasha Station, Chickasha Okla., 109 E. Minnesota Ave. He was elected delegate to the ensuing General Conference to convene in May 1924 in Louisville, Ky. (Wright 1924, 97-8)[7]

Holmes's profile as an educated pastor participating at national conventions makes him a plausible candidate as author of *Ethiopia* and may explain his familiarity with current political debates and literary trends, as well as the central thematic focus on martyrdom and separatism that he shares with another, better known, Texas-reared religious figure and literary author, Sutton E. Griggs. Griggs was a Baptist minister and prolific author of speculative fiction whose first novel, *Imperium in Imperio* (1899), is an important intertext for *Ethiopia*. That Wright's biographical sketch should not mention *Ethiopia*, a novel published seven years earlier under a pseudonym, seems consistent with the need for anonymity that motivated Holmes's use of a pseudonym in the first place. The less than flattering portrayal of religious figures like Bishop Adolph G. Mangus, the most conservative and reluctant founder of the Union of Ethiopia, as well as the "distinctly revolutionary" (Holmes 1917, 24) project advanced in the novel may account for Holmes's decision not to make his authorship known.

The strange career of *Ethiopia* starts at The Cosmopolitan Press, 440 Fourth Avenue, New York. In the 1910s, The Cosmopolitan Press published a diverse array of volumes of poetry and prose, including speculative works, by male and female authors of various ethnicities.[8] The year before *Ethiopia*, for instance, the press issued Richard Marvin Chapman's *A Vision of the Future* (1916), a book that outlined in great detail a utopian (in the author's view) plan to "exterminate" what Chapman identifies as the "two chief causes of human misery", that is, "poverty and the perversion of the sexual relation" (Chapman 1916, 7). Chapman proposed "expert observation and authoritative restraint" (Chapman 1916, 9) in the social organization of life "from the cradle to the grave" (Chapman 1916, 117). He envisioned rigid measures, such as the segregation of the sexes in separate institutions after the age of 10.[9] Despite its "disagreeably-mechanized" program (Mather 1918, 123) and disregard for "enliven[ing]"

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[7] The end of Wright's volume presents various advertisements, including one for *The Crisis*, the monthly magazine edited by W.E.B. DuBois where *Ethiopia* was advertised in 1917.

[8] The Cosmopolitan Press published well-known authors like Joseph Seamon Cotter (*Negro Tales* 1912) and William Dudley Foulke (*Dorothy Day* 1911).

[9] See Chapman 1916, 57. Chapman's list of the "great questions" of his time includes "Prohibition, single tax and woman suffrage" (Chapman 1916, 118). He makes very few, but revealing, explicit references to race. He mentions in passing that "The subject of

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his "simple fiction" (Chapman 1916, 116-17), Chapman's volume was reviewed and recognized as belonging to the genre of speculative fiction, unlike Holmes's *Ethiopia*.[10]

Yet, the very paratextual materials of *Ethiopia* introduce the reader into the utopian economy of the novel in ways that are reminiscent of works by other African American authors of speculative fiction at the turn into the twentieth century, such as Griggs, Pauline E. Hopkins, Charles W. Chesnutt, and W.E.B. DuBois. Starting from the epigraphs on the title page, the first, as mentioned, cites Psalms 68,3 and evokes the Ethiopian prophecy of the liberation of African peoples,[11] while the second sounds a call to "gird us for the coming fight" against "unholy powers" by quoting John Greenleaf Whittier, the abolitionist poet whose verses feature frequently in classic African American literature, from Frederick Douglass's *Narrative* (1845) to William Wells Brown's *Clotel* (1853) and Martin R. Delany's *Blake* (1859).

Not unlike Griggs's *Imperium in Imperio* (1899), Chesnutt's *The Colonel's Dream* (1905), or DuBois's *The Quest of the Silver Fleece* (1911), Holmes frames *Ethiopia* with an ostensibly nonfictional Preface and/or Epilogue.[12] The preface is in the first person and signed "Clayton Adams". It opens by describing the "Purpose" indicated in the novel's subtitle as both "humanitarian" and as "the desire to place the members of the much-abused Ethiopian race on the stage of human existence as actors in the powerful drama of life" (Holmes 1917, 5). Holmes then proceeds by reflecting on the specific properties of fiction as a literary form to achieve that purpose. On the one hand, he offers a classic realistic disclaimer, declaring to "have simply reproduced... incidents from actual occurrences" and that the "incidents depicted in the following pages are unmarred by any touch of exaggeration" (1917, 5). On the other, he exceeds the limits of realistic recording by playing openly with the novel's fictional setting and plot, as he places "Unionland", "Magnolia", and the "Decemvirate" in

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the segregation of the races will be an economic question to be considered at the proper time. It is not a detail that need be considered now" (Chapman 1916, 51).

10   A review in *The Christian Register*, the weekly magazine of The American Unitarian Association, described Chapman's book as "more or less of an echo of Edward Bellamy's work along similar lines which provoked much discussion a score of years ago" ("Miscellaneous" 1917). A longer article on utopias in the St. Louis *Reedy's Mirror* includes a scathing critique of *A Vision of the Future* (Mather 1918).

11   On Ethiopianism, see Gruesser 2000; Kay 2011; Moses 1978; Nurhussein 2019; Sundquist 1993.

12   The use of paratextual materials is a characterizing trope of utopian fiction since its inception. In American speculative fiction it was most famously popularized by Edward Bellamy in his bestselling *Looking Backward* (1888). By then, the use of paratextual materials was already an established practice in African American speculative fiction. See, for instance, Harper's "Conclusion" in *Minnie's Sacrifice* (1869).

quotation marks.[13] At the same time, against his "more serious critics" he asserts the right to imagine situations and scientific "experiments" that "are quite within the region of possibility" (6).

Holmes explicitly mobilizes the imaginative freedom that characterizes fiction in order to "set down… plans", so that,

> by bringing certain alarming conditions to the attention of the world, the enlightened members of each of the races will do their best to ameliorate them by diffusing more freely the light of education and culture. (Holmes 1917, 6)

The last paragraph of the Preface moves even more decidedly into the realm of futurity by acknowledging that "one can only speculate on the growing policy of segregation" (7) and weaponizing such speculation through a closing intertextual reference to the Declaration of Independence that, as in the ending of *Imperium in Imperio*, amounts to a threat:

> the fact remains that no intelligent, awakened people may long be deprived of the fullest and most complete enjoyment of life, liberty, and unalloyed happiness. (7)

As will be discussed later in this essay, the affirmative threat of the Preface mutates into a series of defiant questions in the brief, unsigned Epilogue where Holmes adopts a collective "we" to exhort readers to realize the liberational plans outlined in the novel.

But what exactly are the "plans" Holmes outlines in *Ethiopia*? And how do they relate to the titular Ethiopia? Holmes announces the central plan in the very first chapters by playing in original ways with a classic narrative device of utopian fiction: the dream. In a series of short chapters that succeed in building narrative suspense, the novel brings together the five soon-to-be founding fathers of the "Union of Ethiopia" (Holmes 1917, 22): Ephraim Johnston, "a colored barber" (11); Allan Dune, Johnston's mysterious and initially unemployed lodger, who is nicknamed "The Mystic" and described as "black in color" (13); Adolph G. Mangus, a "portly mulatto of commanding presence" and Bishop of an unspecified religious denomination (13); Jacob Whiteside, a "son of Africa" who works as a railway porter and is an old-time friend of Johnston's (14); and Chester A. Grant, "one of the most noted lawyers of his race" (14).[14] They have all had recurring and inexplicable dreams involving capitalized letters of the alphabet, the

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13 The names of the characters, on the contrary, never appear in quotation marks.

14 Half way through the novel, the five founders expand into a Decemvirate. Like the original five founders, the new leaders are men from different walks of life (e.g., a

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number 5, "a cheering multitude of people of the darker race" (20), and an unfamiliar "banner" with inscribed letters of gold.[15] These dreams draw them to meet at Johnston's barbershop in the northern metropolis "Cargo City", where they are able to decipher their visions by sharing them with each other.[16] When united, the letters on the banner they dreamed form the word "ETHIOPIA". The banner and the cheering multitude point to the founding of the new nation.[17]

The first step of Holmes's blueprint for black futurity is "creating a greater spirit of unity" across class, color, region, education, age, religion, and political creed "among people of the black race" (Holmes 1917, 26). This "greater mutual reliance" is the basis for a precise and "revolutionary" political project that "amounts practically to a complete exodus and the establishment of a nation of our own" (24) within the United States. The practical steps to achieve such a goal are to found a bank, to take a census of the black population in the United States, to start a publication "to be read by all their race" (22), to invest in "propaganda" for the Union of Ethiopia, and, as the reader learns in the second half of the novel, to prepare for armed "mutual defence" (74, 79). The title reference to Ethiopia, which was emphasized in the first edition that carried on the hardcover only the shortened title *Ethiopia*, soon emerges as a domestic call for the unity of all African American "Ethiops" in the United States.

Even though the thin disguise of the invented, allegorical place names is revealed in the Preface and "Unionland" clearly indicates the United States, their defamiliarizing effect is still operative in the utopian economy of the novel and adds to the futuristic atmosphere of *Ethiopia*. So does also the peculiar timelessness of the novel, that avoids all references to contemporaneous events, including World War I (that the US entered in April 1917, three months before Holmes copyrighted *Ethiopia*), or the related scramble for Africa, that, for instance, DuBois discussed in the essay "The African Roots of War" in the May 1915 issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*. The war Holmes is interested in is that against African Americans in the United States, and while the utopian plan of the novel is not transnational it

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farmer and a preacher). Holmes, like Griggs, insists on the intelligence of ordinary, not necessarily educated, men (see Holmes 1917, 26).

15   A 5 May 2021 unsigned post on Balanta.org focuses on the recurrence of the number 5 in *Ethiopia* and credits Holmes with having prophesied the Second Italo-Ethiopian War ("May 5th" 2021).

16   According to Gloster (1965, 96), "Cargo City" is Chicago.

17   The enthusiasm over the collective interpretation of the dream is "increased" by hearing the notes of "Dixie" being played in a street nearby (Holmes 1917, 21). Holmes lays claim to the South from the very beginning of the novel.

is definitely separatist.[18] Having "won the sanction and approval of the government of 'Unionland'" (Holmes 1917, 119), the Union of Ethiopia plans to buy land in "Magnolia" (the South)", near "Savna" (Savannah), and the author's counterfactual imagination presents the U.S. government as ready to negotiate the purchase.

The alternate worldmaking parts of the novel dominate the sections taking place in the North and follow the prompt establishment, popular support, and flow of donations that greet the founding of the Union of Ethiopia. These sections focus on the success of the separatist project and limit the critique of segregation in the North to the actions of a few white characters: Mrs. Bleecker, who is a native of the South and uncritical of its ways; her husband Mr. Morris Bleecker, who is a millionaire northern banker who does not share his wife's prejudices but nevertheless acquiesces, not wanting to antagonize her; and the rabidly prejudiced and murderous villain Donad Bleecker, who is Morris Bleecker's nephew and the owner of a plantation near "Savna". Holmes's portrayal of the North's (and the national government's) failure to oppose vocally the lawless racist forces of the Jim Crow regime in the South takes strikingly literal form in the character of Harold Bleecker, Mr. and Mrs. Bleecker's 18-year-old son. Harold has become a paralytic and mute. Highly intelligent and educated, Harold enters "heart and soul" (Holmes 1917, 56) into Allan Dune and Elsa Mangus's projects to establish Southern chapters of the Union of Ethiopia. In the process, he recovers "the power of speech" (30), but his isolation in the prejudiced South and his physical weakness make him ineffective as an ally of the heroic freedom fighters.

That Holmes's incisive but contained critique of the North is instrumental to keeping open the possibility of imagining the popular success of the Union of Ethiopia becomes clear, by contrast, from the more systematic descriptions of the dystopian workings of segregation in the South. The largest part of the novel is set in "Magnolia", where the Union of Ethiopia has to operate secretly (Holmes 1917, 50). What drives the speculative economy of these southern sections is the contrast between the realistic portrayal of the violent, exploitative, lawless regime of racial segregation and the miraculous survival of the hero, Allan Dune, a larger-than-life African American everyman. As in the case of other exceptional heroes like Douglass's Madison Washington, Delany's Henry Blake, or Griggs's Belton Piedmont, Allan Dune is an *exemplum* of black power that operates in plain sight of, and yet is unperceived by, prejudiced white America.

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18   A dialogue between Bishop Mingus and Allan Dune clarifies that separatism is a means for a people to be "respected nationally, regardless of its color", and "individually" (Holmes 1917, 36).

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Among the founders of the Union of Ethiopia, Allan Dune stands out as at once the "philosophic" (Holmes 1917, 27) and charismatic leader, as well as the only one with no specific occupation or social standing. After establishing the Union of Ethiopia, this superhero in disguise supports himself by accepting a position as personal assistant to invalid Harold Bleecker. In this capacity Allan Dune travels to the South, to the Bleeckers's summer mansion in "Savna". His journey soon turns into a dystopian descent into an unfamiliar, lawless, violent, and alien land where the hero's life is immediately threatened and where he must learn how to survive. Holmes's depiction of this world turned upside down features classic tropes in African American fiction: the compulsory and traumatic move to a Jim Crow car (38); witnessing the violent exploitation of the convict-lease system and the cold-blooded murder of an inmate (42-3); risking to be lynched for thwarting a wanton white attempt to murder a black child (45-6); seeing that an "act of chivalry" is publicly and maliciously misrepresented as "the work of a desperado" by law enforcement officers and the biased press (48).

Allan Dune's local guide on this journey in a land deprived of justice, truth, and honour is beautiful and accomplished Elsa Mangus, the daughter of Bishop Mangus, one of the founders of the Union of Ethiopia. Twenty-year-old Elsa Mangus has been educated in the North, where she graduated and also "completed a course in vocal and instrumental music" (Holmes 1917, 34), but she was raised in the South, knows its ways, and is now returning to her home in "Savna". She becomes Allan Dune's interpreter of the South and partner in his secret efforts to establish chapters of the Union of Ethiopia. Even though Holmes portrays Elsa Mangus as an exceptional heroine and a true "helpmeet and spur… to greater effort" (63) for Allan Dune, he does so in ways that reveal his masculinist politics and recall the exalted, but secondary and ultimately relational role of women in fiction by Douglass, Delany, Griggs, and DuBois.

Elsa Mangus is praised for her "keenness of thought" (51) and recognized by Allan himself as his superior in activist organizing (64), but she is also described, however affectionately, as a child and little to the end.[19] Her accomplishments are at the service of Allan Dune.[20]

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19   In his last moments before being lynched, Allan Dune remembers Elsa as "pure, gentle, harmless little Elsa" (Holmes 1917, 127). Nevertheless, Elsa is unique by contrast with the other female characters across the racial spectrum, who are either well-meaning but ineffective (see Mrs. Stevens, Mrs. Bleecker, and the sheriff's wife), helpless pawns in the hands of lynchers (see Gertie Stickley), or an anonymous mass. The secretaries who work at the headquarters of the Union of Ethiopia are described as "a half-dozen sets of nimble, dusky fingers of the female variety" (Holmes 1917, 105).

20   Elsa's musical education and talent resonate intertextually. See, for instance, Hopkins's Dianthe Lusk in *Of One Blood* (1902-03). Elsa's musical gift and name evoke and revise also Thomas Dixon's Elsie Stoneman in *The Clansman* (1905).

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Her excellence qualifies her as a worthy admirer of the hero and in turn her immediate regard for him serves to confirm Allan Dune's own exceptionality. Elsa Mangus is a wonder woman who, like Delany's Henry Blake with wild beasts, possesses the "power unseen" to stare down a racist white mob (84), and yet she is praised most forcefully for her voluntary selflessness and protective loyalty towards the men she loves, that is, her father and Allan Dune (see Holmes 1917, 38-9). Indeed, while worrying for the safety of Allan Dune Elsa Mangus acquires the dubious narrative distinction of becoming the first martyr to the cause of the Union of Ethiopia (Holmes 1917, 83).

The lynching of Elsa Mangus epitomizes the sharp dualism between black and white lives in the segregated South. She is the innocent victim who is slaughtered unjustly after escaping, with Dune's help, the attempted rape by two drunken whites. Holmes does not describe in detail her lynching, preferring instead "to draw a veil over [that] sad and terrible scene" (84). He evokes the dramatic violence of Elsa Mangus's lynching and of the anti-black riot in "Savna" through the cumulative force of a variety of other innocent victims and a long, detailed, impressive list of the various human types that join the lynching mob (77-8). Holmes focuses on the perspective and thought-life of African American characters, foregrounding their astonished sense of living in a world that defies all human logic and thereby defamiliarizing the everyday realities of Jim Crow. He returns to the speculative trope of the dream in the description of Elsa Mangus's father's dazed walk through the destroyed property and mangled bodies of the black community after the riot. Holmes presents the "savage orgy" of destruction sanctioned by the laws of Jim Crow as a veritable time travel to "medieval days" (86).[21] Like Bellamy's Julian West after his nightmare of returning to the past, Bishop Mangus awakens from what in his case was not simply a dream as a fully converted citizen of the utopian future. After hearing of his daughter's murder, Bishop Mangus cries out: "Now [...] you may count me as a full-fledged member of the Union of Ethiopia" (89).

At the same time, to portray the "sensational" and "continuous succession of horrors" (Holmes 1917, 90) that characterize Jim Crow segregation, Holmes introduces another witness to "present conditions exactly as they exist" (48). Harold Bleecker, the young invalid, is an in-between white figure that keeps open the possibility of interracial cooperation and white conversion to racial equality. Although he has become paralysed and cannot speak, he learns to see beyond the veil of racism. In his portrayal of Harold Bleecker, Holmes follows in the narrative steps of Brown, Douglass, and Delany by

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21 Like Chesnutt in *The Colonel's Dream* (1905), Holmes portrays the South as trapped in a dystopian time loop where slavery continues under different guises. See Holmes 1917, 96.

recuperating another classic trope of African American speculative fiction: eavesdropping. As Allan takes Harold with him in his daily visits to Elsa Mangus, the mute invalid eavesdrops on their conversations and is guided by them into the utopian project of racial equality of the Union of Ethiopia. His conversion to racial equality makes him a potentially "powerful ally" (50) who is ready to risk his life for his friends, though he is powerless to prevent their deaths by lynching, a fact that ultimately confirms the novel's emphasis on separatism and African American unity.

Together with Elsa Mangus, Harold Bleecker's admiration offers one more vantage point to appreciate the larger-than-life stature of the hero, Allan Dune, the "Ethiop" everyman whose appearance reveals "nothing remarkable" (Holmes 1917, 13), but who hides within himself unsuspected powers as "a born leader of men" (16). Reductively described as a "servant" (39) by whites, Dune is a "prophetic" leader and a freedom fighter of "unseen power" (28). He uses both physical force and a psychological "perspicacity [that] amounted almost to divination" (27-8) to survive a series of dangers that run the gamut of Jim Crow racialized violence.[22] After his arrival in "Savna", Dune is shot at, but not killed, and he successfully escapes both from a constable who hunts him with bloodhounds, as well as from a convict-lease camp.[23] His family history, centring on his father's escape from slavery and the "unquenchable spirit of independence" (27) he passed on to his son, celebrates a tradition of resistance that Dune mobilizes to new uses in the present.[24] Holmes's hero does not use his (super)powers only for self-preservation in the Jim Crow South. He also saves the Union of Ethiopia by thwarting the plot of the main racist villain and his accomplice, an evil chemist, who plan to use a radium machine to steal from the bank the millions raised by the Union of Ethiopia to purchase land for the new nation.[25] Most importantly Allan Dune emerges as a powerful Christ figure able to heal

[22] See the episode with Elsa's attackers (Holmes 1917, 41) and with Bill, the old Black "slave-driver" (97).

[23] Allan Dune's list of escapes from death rivals Belton Piedmont's in Griggs's *Imperium in Imperio*.

[24] Allan Dune's memories of the stories he heard from his father, a fugitive slave, enable him to escape from the sheriff's bloodhounds (Holmes 1917, 90)

[25] *Ethiopia* belongs to the "period from 1904 to 1933" that Joshua Glenn has termed "sci-fi's radium age" (Glenn 2012, 204). Radium plays a significant role in the plot of Holmes's novel. It is also worth noting that in Oklahoma, where Holmes lived, mineral waters were "imaginatively dubbed "radium water" to capitalize on the contemporary allure of radioactivity". In Claremore, a town in northeastern part of the state, the area containing the first bathhouses was nicknamed 'Radium Town'" (Malley 2010).

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the sick and reanimate the white body.[26] Under his ministrations, invalid Harold Bleecker recovers his speech and mobility.

As in the case of Griggs's Belton Piedmont, this series of escapes and extraordinary feats are intertwined with, and in fact support, the indictment emerging from the realistic representation of the virulence of segregation. Holmes's precise depiction, from the point of view of the oppressed, of the parallel world of Jim Crow injustice, peonage, convict-lease, and lynchings, as well as of the "helpless" (Holmes 1917, 125) submission to injustice (in the case of a few benevolent but ineffective whites) or of the unquestioned sense of white supremacist entitlement (on the part of a cross-class group of segregationists) have a defamiliarizing effect that is even greater than Allan Dune's superpowers and effectively leads to a critical estrangement from prevailing narratives of American democracy. In other words, the novel's utopian economy is at work in the hero's narrative survival against the most dangerous odds, but the modes of his survival are not stranger or more unbelievable than the real-life societal context that makes them necessary.

It is only when the heroic everyman's ontological capacity to survive is established beyond all doubts that Allan Dune meets his end, an end that confirms his exceptionality. His death is not due to an inevitable doom. On the contrary, Holmes presents it as the self-aware "martyrdom" of a man "of great nature" (Holmes 1917, 127), as a superior form of selfless witnessing (to recover the etymological sense of the word "martyr"), and as a way of opposing truth to blind power. As announced early on in the novel, "When injustice is rampant there is always a call to martyrdom" (25), and Allan Dune answers the call. He has a "premonition" (118) that his mission to "Savna" as the "special envoy" (118) to negotiate the purchase of land for the new African American nation may be dangerous for him, but he goes nevertheless to pursue the higher collective good of the Union of Ethiopia.[27] As in Griggs's *Imperium in Imperio*, the hero succumbs not because defeated in battle, but because of a cowardly trick, in this case the false testimony of a white woman who is instigated by her fiancé, villain Donald Bleecker, to pretend to have been sexually attacked by Dune. By transforming the ensuing senseless lynching into purposeful martyrdom, Holmes thwarts the finality of death by inserting the victim into a broader time frame and a collective perspective.

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26   The trope of the black Christ continues well into the twentieth century. See, for instance, DuBois's "Christ in Texas" (1920) or Langston Hughes's "Christ in Alabama" (1931).

27   DuBois's 1911 utopian novel, *The Quest of the Silver Fleece*, ends with a nonfictional address to the reader entitled "L'envoi". Holmes's own Epilogue confirms Allan Dune's role as an envoy even after his death.

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Even as he depicts how the violent vagaries of segregation create a context where every African American man and woman is under a sentence of death, Holmes mobilizes the speculative economy of the novel to dialogize this tragic reality into an assurance of black futurity. Both his chosen mode of representing Allan Dune's lynching and the novel's Epilogue are, in this sense, revealing. The lynching scene avoids the detailed and horrifying descriptions that characterize, for instance, Griggs's representation of Bud and Foresta's lynching in *The Hindered Hand* (1905). Not unlike DuBois in "Of the Coming of John" (1903), Holmes focuses, instead, on the "flood of thoughts" (Holmes 1917, 125) that sweep over Allan Dune while he is being chained to the iron post where he will be burned. In his last stream of thoughts and memories, the African American everyman reviews his life within the broader scope of his people's history: from the "ancient glory of his race" in Africa (Holmes 1917, 126) to the slave trade, the Civil War and emancipation, the continued oppression of his people, the success of the Union of Ethiopia, the hope that his martyrdom may help his people, and the loving memory of Elsa. The striking and prolonged narrative focus on the hero's thought-life even as he is going to be burned at the stake enhances both the condemnation of his cowardly murderers and also, by contrast, his own superior humanity. The speculative economy of *Ethiopia* repurposes the tragic element into a confirmation of the hero's strength and pushes him and the Union of Ethiopia into futurity by memorializing his exemplary, ultimate commitment to freedom and resistance to the last. The surge of "wild, tempestuous rage" Allan Dune feels remembering Elsa (Holmes 1917, 127) makes him temporarily able to tear "himself loose from his tormentors, throwing a dozen men from their feet", and his superhuman silence under torture makes the lynching crowd feel "that it had been cheated of half the performance" (128).

Four lines after Allan Dune's silent death, the novel ends quite abruptly. The author's "report[ing] of facts" (Holmes 1917, 48) is over and no fictional embellishment is offered. However, the narrative dynamics that propel Elsa Mangus, Allan Dune, and the Union of Ethiopia into the future are supported by the Epilogue, where they are reinforced by being made explicit. The author uses memorialization to spur his audience to agitate against Jim Crow. Shifting seamlessly from realism to reality, Holmes asks metanarrative questions in the Epilogue that invade the extra-textual life of his readers. He concludes the novel on the goals of courage, unity, mutual support, and self-determination that constitute the founding principles of the alternative polity advanced in the novel. The project is worth working and waiting for because, as the author has posited in the Preface, it will not take long to be realized (Holmes 1917, 7). In fact, while the last line of the Epilogue claims readiness to "Patiently [...] await the answer" (129), the author's ostensible submission to the "temporal

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violence" (Fleming 2022, 6) of deferred justice is belied by the urgency of the preceding questions that enter the present-day reality of the readers and challenge them to mobilize:

> We can only close our narrative with a question: Shall the Decemvirate complete the negotiations inaugurated by Allan Dune and accede to the demands of their insistent contributors, or shall they, because of lack of virility and originality, retrace their steps?

> And another: Shall a new civilization spring up over the graves of Elsa Mangus and rise from the ashes of the funeral pyre of Allan Dune?

> Patiently we await the answer. (Holmes 1917, 129)

The realistic evocation of the counterfactual economy of the novel dialogizes the protagonists's tragic deaths into a means and a promise of black futurity. Exorcising the danger that the constant threat of death may become a source of paralysing "racial despair" (Tate 1992, 18), the memory of the protagonists's murders is weaponized into an injunction to share their commitment to the black community and to freedom.

Ethiopia displays the oppositional uses of the speculative fiction tradition in African American literature as a means to defamiliarize racialized injustice and explode its supposed inevitability. On a literary historical level, Holmes's sustained intertextual dialogue with earlier texts in that tradition establishes *Ethiopia* as an important chapter in the reconstruction of its genealogy and expands the periodization of African American utopian fiction well into the twentieth century.[28] The examined continuities within the tradition also enable a significant twist in the interpretation of the title. The titular reference to Ethiopia no longer emerges as misleading or mainly "spiritual", but as "distinctly revolutionary" (Holmes 1917, 24). *Ethiopia, the Land of Promise* effectively renames the United States as the land of the American "Ethiop", who "paid for this land with their sweat and blood [...] when, for centuries, they answered to the master's lash" (111).[29] Holmes presents the birth of an independent African Ameri-

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[28] See also Sarah L. Fleming's *Hope's Highway* (1918) and DuBois's *Dark Princess* (1928).

[29] These are the words of Jacob Whiteside, one of the founding fathers of the Union of Ethiopia. He argues forcefully for reparations: "To demand from us money for this land is practising usury with a vengeance. If individuals are to be held responsible for their misdeeds, why not nations?" The plot of the novel acknowledges that "the cession could not be obtained" (Holmes 1917, 111) and negotiations for the purchase continue, but the argument in favour of reparations is not otherwise disputed and therefore enters into the utopian economy of the novel.

can nation in the U.S. South as "retributive justice" (111), appropriating at the same time the national myth of the "land of promise" and its foundational claim to a bright futurity.

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"No Rest for the Wicked": R.L. Stevenson's "The Body Snatcher" and the Resisting Corpse of Victorian Resurrectionism

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Abstract   The subversive semantic power of the revenant or reanimated corpse in Victorian literature serves as a crucial indicator of the era's preoccupation with the body as a cultural domain. Deeply entwined with the uneasy relationship between the advancement of anatomical science and criminality, the body is marked as the site of fraught boundaries imbued with social order and its attendant anxieties. This paper explores the narrative strategies of Stevenson's short story "The Body Snatcher" (1884) where resurrectionist motifs resist the enforcement of the condition of anonymity that was entailed by anatomical dissection and signal the impossibility of closure through the trope of return of the repressed sub specie of the dissected cadaver. This dual 'resistance' culminates in the symbolism of the revenant corpse's movement, abandoned in its progress towards the future. Stevenson's story reveals a hermeneutic complexity that intertwines the themes of contamination, ethical collusion, commodification of the dead body through the entanglement of medical practice and narrative opacity. This offers further insights into the Victorian resurrectionist imagination, in the light of that 'aura' of the corpse which the regulation of the 1834 New Poor Amendment Act failed to dispel.

Keywords   Stevenson. The Body Snatcher. Grave robbing. Resurrectionism. Body. Corpse.

Summary   1 Introduction. – 2 "The Body Snatcher" and Victorian Resurrectionism. – 3 Resurrected Plots. – 4 The Body in Parts: Dissection, the Revenant Corpse and Social Boundaries. – 5 "Men of the World": The Scottish Theme. – 6 The Impossible Containment.

1   Introduction

The disturbing semantic power of the revenant or reanimated corpse in Victorian literature is rooted in the complex interplay between the advancement of anatomical science, capitalism, the exploitation of the poor and criminality. This is underscored by historical cases from the Burke and Hare murders to Jack the Ripper's and cultural myths of the *fin de siècle* like *Jekyll and Hyde* and *Dracula*. Scholars have widely analysed these themes in light of Victorian concern with the body as a cultural field, as a site of boundaries marked by social order and its attendant anxieties.

As Oliver Buckton observes, it was R.L. Stevenson who "sought to reanimate the corpse of Victorian realism through a revitalized use of Gothic and sensational motif" (Buckton 2000, 23). While mid- and late Victorian writers frequently employed resurrectionist tropes, few did so as effectively as Stevenson. Although he regarded his short story "The Body Snatcher" (written in 1881 and published at Christmas 1884) as a minor work or "crawler" among his "bogey tales" (Reid 2006, 102), the story features narrative strategies that engage with prominent Victorian themes. These include the concept of the 'other' body, the body as a site of social control, and as a symbol of the return of the repressed. The enduring popularity of "The Body Snatcher", which was adapted into a famous film starring Bela Lugosi and Boris Karloff in 1945, indicates persistent anxieties about dissection half a century after the Anatomy Act (1831-32) and attests to its hermeneutic depth within the apparent conventions of the supernatural tale.

Contrary to Douglas Gifford's somewhat reductive categorization of the story to "the most straightforward tales of supernatural tradition", "The Body Snatcher" shares in that exploration of moral ambivalence which he recognizes as "the most useful starting point for an understanding of most of Stevenson's fiction" (Gifford 2005, 62).

From a contemporary critical perspective, rather than a mere "crawler", a or a sensational tale offering the reader pleasurable chills, Stevenson's story reflects the Victorian understanding of "the complex power of the corpse to regenerate society" (Hotz 2009, 168) while simultaneously haunting the living, and reveals further insights in the Victorians' resurrectionist imagination and its unregenerated world, as I intend to argue referring to Victorian death studies and analysing the subtle narrative strategies deployed in the story.

2   "The Body Snatcher" and Victorian Resurrectionism

The narrative ingenuity of the story can be reappraised within the many implications of Victorian resurrectionism. This term evokes a specific historical context marked by the dire entanglement of

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unscrupulous scientific advancement, moral debasement, and ruthless exploitation of the poor in what was probably the most horrific and abject form of the free market until the early nineteenth century: body snatching or grave robbing. Despite its notoriety, this context is crucial due to its explicit allusions in the text. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, medical education was largely conducted privately. Private medical schools, such as the one run by the infamous Robert Knox, had to resort to illicit means to secure fresh corpses, as legal supplies were limited to the official anatomy schools like the Royal College of Surgeons in London, and the Medical School of the University in Edinburgh, where the retrospective narrative of Stevenson's tale is set.

Since Henry VIII's time, the sole legal source for anatomical corpses had been the gallows, with the bodies of murderers handed over to the anatomists as post-mortem punishment. However, as executions declined, a black market for corpses emerged, driven by body snatchers or resurrection men. The most notorious of these were William Burke and William Hare, Irish migrants who murdered up to fifteen people from the slums of Edinburgh to supply fresh cadavers to the famous anatomist Robert Knox. The Anatomy Act of 1831-32 shifted the source of corpses from executed criminals to paupers who died in workhouses and hospitals, and who could not afford funerals. While such an illegal black market for corpses had been running for years in the country, dissection in the anatomical theatre loomed as the greatest fear after the workhouse, as "[w]hat had for generations been a feared and hated punishment for murder became one for poverty" (Richardson 2000, XV). Dissection thus became a means of disciplining and punishing working-class bodies (McNally 2011, 19), gaining an ominous prominence in Britain's disciplinary complex. Furthermore, the 1832 Anatomy Act, the 1834 New Poor Amendment Act, and the movements in favour of cremation sought to regulate the burial and mourning practices, which became ideologically charged in Victorian Britain. Despite these measures, the corpse's aura persisted in the popular imagination. Investigating the social implications of burial and mourning rituals in their fictional reverberations, Elizabeth Hotz identifies the "control of the corpse" as a significant Victorian "contest" (Hotz 2009, 1), explored by novelists like Elizabeth Gaskell, Charles Dickens, Thomas Hardy, and Bram Stoker. These writers dramatised the contrast between middle-class reformers seeking to sanitize funeral practices and the resisting traditions of the working classes and rural communities, revealing complex social dynamics and tensions.

The corpse, as a powerful signifier and a fundamental anthropological entity, holds an ambivalent power that affects the living, and exerts a fascinating horror which has always been a literary trope. Victorian fiction harnessed this power, using the corpse as a powerful

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narrative object to catalyse emotional, individual and social strains. While Bram Stoker's *Dracula* is a prominent example, other works like Stevenson's *Strange Case*, "The Body Snatcher" and *The Wong Box*, as well as A.C. Doyle's Sherlock Holmes stories, foregrounded the corpse as a "buried treasure" emerging from "the underbelly of *fin de siècle* progressivism" (Hotz 2009, 153).[1] These narratives explore a dark underside that erupted through tales of atavism and degeneration, the so-called monster fiction and the "fictions of loss" (Arata 1996).

Dracula, notably, emphasises the dead body as a symbol and trope that exposes Victorian and western society's fears and need to control female sexuality, while unsettling the boundary between the living and the dead. The vampire, as a living corpse, the contaminated dead body in Dracula, and especially the female corpse, becomes a locus for England's identitarian anxieties as the world's greatest imperial power threatened by fears of invasion and degeneration. The defensive violence of the coalized Western forces against the vampire, tightened in a "little band of men", constitutes a certain Victorian male, professional, homosocial order (Daly 2004, 36 and *passim*). In problematising the instability of that boundary between the living and the dead, undead, revenant or transformed, Stoker's masterpiece "cautions Victorians about the dangers of denying death" (Hotz 2009, 166). Similarly, Stevenson's *Strange Case* explores the liminality of identity through the perilous, morphing instability of the respectable gentleman's double life, shared with the atavistic criminal. As Hotz highlights, "despite enormous efforts to contain and confine" it, the corpse "remains, ultimately, restless in Victorian culture" (Hotz 2009, 153), a restlessness that Stevenson's "The Body Snatcher" brilliantly spotlights.

3 Resurrected Plots

The story begins at an inn in the North-West of England, in Debenham, where four men – the landlord, the local undertaker, the anonymous narrator and an ageing alcoholic named Fettes – are told that a famous London doctor has arrived. Fettes is visibly shocked by this news, prompting the narrator to persuade him to share his story. In his youth, Fettes had been a medical student working as an assistant to a renowned anatomist, Mister K. (an allusion to Robert Knox), procuring him corpses without qualms or questions. Knox's class assistant, Macfarlane, once silenced his concerns regarding the body of a possibly murdered young woman. Macfarlane seems to be controlled by one Mr Gray, whom he detests. When Gray's corpse is delivered

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[1]   Hotz only refers to Dracula, but the metaphor well fits the other texts.

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to the school, Fettes realises Macfarlane had snatched it, and that he had to distribute its parts among the students. MacFarlane demands payment, making Fettes an indirect accomplice and argues his philosophy of survival, in which mankind is divided between lions and lambs. Later, after heavy drinking, the two set out at night to exume the body of a farmer's wife. In complete darkness after their lamp breaks, they dig up the body, place it in a sack and haul it onto a horse gig. During their journey, they are made increasingly uncomfortable by the sack bouncing between them, until they discover that the body is not the woman's one but that of the "dead and long-dissected Gray" (BS 84).[2] Terrified, they abandon the horse and the gig, leaving the deathly load to continue their unbridled journey in dire weather towards Edinburgh.

As previously mentioned, "The Body Snatcher" fictionalises one of the most macabre episodes in which the progress of scientific advancement and the ruthless pursuit of economic profit joined in British history, the infamous Burke and Hare case of 1829. Stevenson alludes to this scandal as a diegetic background to the plot when he refers to Knox as Mr "K—", the extramural "teacher of anatomy" whom he designates by this letter, as "his name was subsequently too well known" (BS 71). Stevenson set the story in a period when grave digging had officially ended, but, as Ruth Richardson highlights, "[t]he atmosphere of the burking era was still in living memory in Stevenson's day" (Richardson 2015, 413), because of the association of surgeons with the criminal activities of grave robbers and executioners in the popular imagination.

The historical reference to the infamous case and the specific Scottish tradition of anatomy studies is explicit, however, the story reveals how Stevenson also indirectly engages with what can be called the Victorian 'cult of death', and, framing Gothic tropes in a specific historical memory, revived it in his own way. While nineteenth century England saw progressive fetishisation (and commodification) of death, with mourning and funerals increasingly acquiring a middle and upper-middle-class status, and "a function of social display – a movement that can be seen as an attempt to embrace both social and individual loss" (Zigarovich 2020, 288), Stevenson, like Wilde in *Dorian Gray*, subverted the idea of the "beautiful death". He explored the unsettling liminality of the corpse, that "uncertain balance between solicitude towards the corpse and the fear of it" (Richardson 2000, XV) which had also led to the practice of watching the dead, before the Anatomy Act, for fear of the grave-robbers.

Stevenson's other "Pilochry tales", "Thrawn Janet", "The Merry Men" and "Markheim", also feature dead bodies undergoing

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2 Henceforth "The Body Snatcher" will be referred to as 'BS'.

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alterations and transfigurations and signal the presence of evil. However, "The Body Snatcher" uniquely reverberates with the cultural meaning attached to post-mortem care and looks back to the first half of the century, when the predation of the poor and destitutes' corpses created a trauma in the collective imagination. As dissection had come to be perceived as the ultimate defacement and defilement after death, and, in Richardson's words, "not only the exposure of nakedness, the possibility of assault upon and disrespect towards the dead – but also the deliberate mutilation or destruction of identity, perhaps for eternity" (Richardson 2000, 28).

As an important text of late-Victorian fiction engaging with the cult of death and resurrectionism, "The Body Snatcher" can thus be reconsidered through four main thematic themes: dissection and the social order; the "Burking" of Scottish identity; the reversal of the aestheticization of the dead female body; and, most significantly, the relevance of the trope of the altered corpse to Stevenson's narrative strategies.

4 The Body in Parts: Dissection, the Revenant Corpse and Social Boundaries

A survey of cultural genealogy and implications of modern anatomy reveals its connection with what has been defined as the Renaissance "culture of dissection" as "a culture of enquiry" (Sawday 1996, IX) that spread across the arts with the establishment of modern anatomy. This culture intertwined anatomy and aesthetics, which later evolved into a "divorce" between science and literature. Autopsy was conceived as the outcome of the desire to penetrate the mystery of the human body, and dissection further constructed the body as a cultural locus, an object of social and disciplinary control and power. The anatomist as scientist dealt with bodies that, even after death, were inscribed with the social order, marked by class and social inequality. In the literary imagination, they gradually became creators of their own monsters, or monstrous 'others', as in *Frankenstein* and *The Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*.

Through the character of Fettes, the medical student in charge of 'distributing' bodily parts to his peers in Dr K.'s school, and through the supernatural restoration to wholeness of Gray's dissected body, "The Body Snatcher" engages with the occlusion of dismemberment in the official semantics of anatomical dissection, and the consequent obliteration of the question of anonymity that was entailed by the destruction and erasure of bodily integrity in dissection. Fettes' blunt definition of his duty as a man of science who acknowledges the authority of the master epitomises this process of displacement and repression of guilt: "He understood his duty, in short, to have

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three branches: to take what was brought, to pay the price, and to avert the eye from any evidence of crime" (BS 73). As Fettes hands out the anatomical specimens to K.'s acolytes – significantly "members" to members –, he is charged with one essential process of that hideous 'corpse economy': the retrieval, distribution and commercialization of body parts as goods, hence commodities. In the narrative, his sense of guilt and discomfort is countered by the more unscrupulous Macfarlane, who cautions him against moral qualms and urges him to protect their position: "The more things are wrong the more we must act as if all were right":

> Hours passed; the class began to arrive; the members of the unhappy Gray were dealt out to one and to another and received without remark; Richardson was made happy with the head; and before the hour of freedom rang Fettes trembled with exultation to perceive how far they had already gone towards safety. For two days he continued to watch, with increasing joy, the dreadful process of disguise. (BS 86)

The passage displays striking use of gruesome humour in the ironic polysemy of "members" as both fellow anatomists and bodily limbs, and of "watch" as reminiscent of the funeral wake and protection of the dead. The troubling question of anonymity is underscored in the twist of the plot where the dead lower-class female body of the farmer's wife is mysteriously replaced by Gray's middle-class male corpse, which had previously been dissected. Not only does the narrative turn resonate with Stevenson's fascination with the theme of the double, but it also alludes to a biographical/historical background. The original for Jane Galbraith was Mary Patterson, a local prostitute well-known for her beauty who had died of alcoholism and who was recognized by the students who received the corpse (Mighall 2002, 170). Significantly, the female subject of the story is thus doubly punished: for her lower social status in the fiction, and for moral and social reasons in the historical allusion (the alcoholic prostitute). What is more, through a kind of macabre looping effect, the female corpse also paradoxically resists that enforced anonymity of the body entailed by grave robbing and dissection, as its replacement by Gray's dismembered but restored corpse, closed in the sack and hauled on the gig, seems to ironically suggest.

Stevenson thus inserts the supernatural element through a ghastly and provoking reversal of identity that is a variation on the trope of the reanimated corpse, which in its turn dramatizes the erasure of dissection. Moreover, with the transformation of the supposedly female corpse into a male body, recognized "by a dozen unquestionable marks" that bear innuendos to Fettes having "jested with" her (BS 74), the gender reversal of the contentious corpse not only evokes

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Poe's famous "most poetic topic", but also signals a radical subversion of the possibility for a destitute woman to reach the celebrated ideal of the Victorian beautiful death, and, with that, its inherent desirable model of femininity. Although the only female dead body of the story receives a cursory mention, it could be interpreted far more extensively. The degree of intimacy that Fettes had enjoyed with the woman is both clearly hinted and suggestive of its uncanny connotation as a supplement or counterpart to that homoerotic connotation that Oliver Buckton attributes to the male corpse in Stevenson's and in *fin de siècle* fiction (Buckton 2000, 24-5).

In the case of this story, the homoerotic male body would be Gray's, with whom MacFarlane seems to entertain a relationship of disturbing and tense proximity. Jane Galbraith, transformed from a body-object of desire into a defaced body of fear, is thus joined in a perverse contiguity to Gray, as both fall prey to the logic of corpse economy: "Mr Gray is the continuation of Miss Galbraith; you can't begin and then stop; if you begin, you must keep on beginning; that's the truth. No rest for the wicked" (BS 85). A metonymic logic clearly emerges in this statement, in which gender is apparently interchangeable, but, more importantly, where the perpetrator can become just another victim, as well as a Gothic harbinger of guilt and retribution. In the arena of survival of that economy, only Macfarlane can keep thriving professionally, while Fettes never truly recovers from the shock of the contaminating corpse. Their physical and aesthetic ageing is revealing of their different social parables, and the supernatural affects the two characters in two opposite ways, and is psychologically relevant (Arata 2010, 62).

It has been argued, notably by Robert Mighall (2002, XV), that "The Body Snatcher" prefigures the preoccupations that Stevenson would later develop in *The Strange Case of Doctor Jekyll and Mr Hyde* by weaving together medicine and science, anatomy and anthropology, folklore and the supernatural, national politics and imperial anxieties. Significantly, the story displays "a pattern of suppressed guilt, of a double life of daylight respectability and nocturnal transgression, of the 'ghost' of old crimes overtaking their perpetrators, contained here within a fairly conventional supernatural tale" (Mighall 2002, XVII). The "doubleness of life" that is shared by Fettes and Macfarlane (Gray 2004, 52) and the social diagnosis and critique embedded in the story anticipates the kind of exploration of social and class duplicity of *Jekyll and Hyde*, as the instability of Gray's corporeality, when alive, already reveals the concern with the representation of a porous area between the criminal and atavist and the bourgeois respectability of the gentlemen irresistibly attracted to the 'double life'. Mr Gray is described as "a small man, very pale and dark, with cold black eyes. The cut of his features gave a promise of intellect and refinement which was but feebly realized in his manners;

for he proved, upon a nearer acquaintance, coarse, vulgar and stupid" (BS 75). Gray looks like a criminal and yet could be a gentleman; he looks like a gentleman and yet acts like a criminal, and this outward social ambivalence anticipates the social and moral instability of the Jekyll-Hyde duality. What is most relevant is that his duplicity, signalled by his physical ambiguity, finds in dissection the punishment reserved either to criminals or the poor. But since Gray is not destitute, his dissected body is not anonymous: the semantics of the snatched body in the story thus reverses the question of anonymity into a disturbingly uncanny identity that vindicates the exploitation and commodification of the lower classes perpetrated by grave robbers on this morally compromised man.

5 "Men of the World": The Scottish Theme

"The Body Snatcher" has also been examined in relation to Stevenson's Scottish background. Along with "Thrawn Janet" and "The Merry Men", it expresses the "association between the *national* and the *uncanny or supernatural*" which has been identified as "a thematic core" of the Scottish Gothic (Duncan 2012, 123). This association is mediated by a significant temporal distance between the time of the story and that of narration. It is remarkable that Scottish subjects were first considered by Stevenson "by way of the Gothic" (Arata 2010, 59). "The Body Snatcher", in its reviving the national trauma of resurrectionism and its use of the supernatural to dramatise the loss of integrity of the self, responds to that dramatic identitarian rift which is the dominant trait of Scottish Gothic, considered "as an aesthetics of disjuncture, looking both inward to the nation's own fragmented status as well as outward, offering a way of reflecting on identity that moves beyond essentialist binary forms of self-representation" (Davison, Germanà 2017, 7).

Caroline McCracken's argues that Gray's corpse, Fettes himself, as well as the anglicised doctor Macfarlane, represent the buried otherness of Scottish national identity. McCracken points out how "[t]his social obsession with the corpse in inappropriate circulation was peculiar to Scotland" and persisted in the late Victorian period, in a context where the two bodies politic of England and Scotland, joined in one parliament, had given way to the distinction between the former's body politic proper and the latter's 'body natural' (McCracken 2006, 134). The allusion to the Burke and Hare case – the two were Irish, and thus analogously 'other' – suggests Robert Knox as a rampant middle-class Scotsman who never acknowledged his connection to the two murderers. The Scottish theme is thus connoted by the overt allusion to the unscrupulous social advancement of a man of science who had promoted an abominable development of the corpse market,

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through which social and professional success had been made possible by the trading of abject body parts, an ultimate form of embodied but commodified otherness. Both Fettes and Macfarlane, however, have occluded their identities, one in failure, the other through professional and social success (McCracken 2006, 141). Moreover, the supernatural return of the dismembered corpse, which clearly signals the return of the national repressed, is evoked in the context of rural England at a time of great national progress, and therefore marks the unremitting anxiety about an unerasable past of guilty complicity, bound to haunt the present.

Stevenson's story masterfully disguises the reverse colonization trope by dislocating Scottish identities through an elliptical exploration of class and moral duplicity, and the unstable threshold that separates the living from revenant embodiments of guilt.

6 The Impossible Containment

The most accomplished literary quality of "The Body Snatcher" is its narrative structure and imagery, which foreground the impossible containment of its textual content, prompting further reflection in light of Victorian death culture. The story conventionally opens with an audience formed by a small group of characters representing different social layers of British society: the landlord, the local undertaker, a middle-aged Scottish alcoholic doctor named Fettes, and the anonymous narrator. This all-male group recalls the one aboard the Nellie in the opening page of *Heart of Darkness*. In lieu of the "bond of the sea", in "The Body Snatcher" the emphasis is on the soil and the existence of a ground, conveyed by the figures of the undertaker and the landlord, to which all are directly or indirectly tied. The nameless narrator forcefully tells the story he has extorted from the reluctant Fettes, whom he defines as a an "old drunken Scotsman", who "by a mere continuance of living had grown to be an adopted townsman" (BS 67). On closer scrutiny, the narrator is not a neutral, anodyne presence: rather, though "seemingly benign", he "dissects Fettes's character before disappearing from the scene of the crime" (Yan 2019, 471), akin to an obscure Ancient Mariner who enjoys telling a story of crime without atonement. Referring to himself as "myself", he is ultimately implicated in this contaminating experience of the "abhorred task" (BS 82), as he "worms out" his story with an almost sadistic pleasure from the reluctant Fettes.

The impossible narrative closure signalled by the uncontainable corpse is proleptically announced from the start when Fettes, upon seeing MacFarlane, startles as if "rising from the dead", so that the idea of the revenant dead body, as Robert Mighall noted, "provide literal and metaphorical frames" (Mighall 2002, XIV). The fast motion

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of the gig in the last scene is anticipated by Macfarlane's terrified escape[3] after his unexpected encounter with the man who has nailed him against his own criminal past after so many years:

> as he was passing Fettes clutched him by the arm, and these words came in a whisper, and yet painfully distinct, 'Have you seen it again?'
>   The great, rich London doctor cried out aloud with a sharp, throttling cry; he dashed his questioner across the open space, and, with his hands over his head, fled out of the door like a detected thief. Before it had occurred to one of us to make a movement the fly was already rattling towards the station. The scene was over like a dream; but the dream had left proofs and traces of its passage. (BS 70)

Stevenson explored and deployed narrative complexities in his works, notably in *Jekyll and Hyde*, with an eye to a scientific perspective, and exploited them to dramatize not only the narrative process itself, as in the best mid- and late Victorian fiction, but also as a device that reveals an incomplete or unattainable closure, its residue, the irrational and, ultimately, otherness. The centrality of the dead body is a recurrent motif in his output: while in "The Body Snatcher" it has even been read in light of the influence that Robert Knox's writings had on philosophical anatomy, to consider that "entanglement of anatomising and narrative experimentation during the nineteenth century" (Yan 2019, 461), in his output it has been more extensively explored in relation to the secrecy of homoeroticism (Buckton 2000). The legacy of anatomy, originally conceived as a branch of philosophy by the connotation of 'natural', is signalled by the epithet Fettes chooses for Macfarlane and his master Mr K. as "philosophers", so that the overtones connoting the higher aims behind the anatomists' activity sound ironically brutal. The nexus between (philosophical) anatomy and narrative experimentation can be further illuminated by an essay published two years before the short story, "A Gossip on Romance", where Stevenson discusses the way in which the "plastic part of literature" should be written with the aim of rendering the passion and vitality of true experience ("Drama is the poetry of conduct, romance the poetry of circumstance", Stevenson 2006, 142; 140), and employs a medical, even surgical vocabulary: "one thing to remark and to dissect, with the most cutting logic, the complications of life, and of the human spirit; it is quite another to give them body and blood in the

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3 Macfarlane keeps "a gig and a strong trotting-horse", therefore the vehicle is directly associated with his moral unscrupulousness and constant flight from ethical responsibilities.

story of Ajax or Hamlet" (Stevenson 2006, 141). In seeing the risk of delving too deep into such existential complications, Stevenson seemed to suggest that both the anatomist and the writer endanger the human subject (Yan 2019, 470). Thus, literary art, narrative and the mystery of embodied life appeared to be entangled in his aesthetic and literary project. This is also apparent in "The Body Snatcher" as the narrator also seems to be consciously exploiting the enduring anxiety about resurrectionism that had not subsided in Stevenson's time. What is more, the story reveals a degree of narrative complexity and aggressiveness in the anonymous narrator's macabre phrasing that he is "worming out" a story from the stupefied Fettes. The graphic metaphor of the narrator extracting the story like an agent thriving from decomposition clearly implicates the anonymous teller of the tale in the economy of dissection and the semantics of resurrectionism and generates a self-referential narrative level in the story. As Rae Yan remarks with a macabre image, such an implication turns the narrator into a "parasitic entity burrowing through Fettes' body" (Yan 2019, 472). In other words, in spinning a troubling yarn about the disruption of bodily integrity, the anonymous narrator also undermines the textual integrity and simplicity that could be expected from a popular "crawler", so that "The Body Snatcher" ranks with Stevenson's main works in the concern to discard the realist and naturalist fictional mode, or, in Nathalie Jaëck's suggestive phrasing, "to dismember, to scatter, the text" (Jaëck 2006, 49). Furthermore, the anonymous narrator, only apparently marginal to the rhetorical economy of the tale and feeding on an unearthed macabre past which keeps resurfacing in the transmission of yarns over time, seems to respond to Elizabeth Bronfen's conception of storytellers who "are like revenants, in that the liminal realm between life and death inspires and produces fictions" (Stevenson 2006, 143).

The relevance of the corpse to Stevenson's poetics was a central concern of his mature years, which he elaborated through an array of gothic tropes that respond to contemporary anxieties. In the attempt "to find a body, a vehicle, for that strong sense of man's double being", as he wrote in 1888 in "A Chapter on Dreams", referring to the genesis of *Strange Case* (Stevenson 2008, 161), Stevenson had "tried one body after another in vain", focusing on the motif of the vanishing, transfigured or replaced corpse in several other fictions. Among them feature "Thrawn Janet" and "Markheim", together with the comic novel *The Wong Box* (1889), co-authored with Lloyd Osbourne, and *Strange Case*, where the most important dead body of all, Hyde's, is prefigured by Jekyll in his testament letter. The male corpse has been identified by Buckton (2000) as a narrative catalyst and a symbolic receptacle of a disturbing homoerotic intimacy between men, which leads to attempts at its physical containment in boxes and cases, and imbues the whole narrative with secrecy. In "The Body Snatcher" the

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relationship between Macfarlane and Gray, whose corpse is the centrepiece of the narrative suspense, is shady, to say the least: Gray, who despite his outward looks is "coarse, vulgar" and who exerts "however a very remarkable control over Macfarlane", takes "a fancy" to Fettes, and is defined by the narrator as a "loathsome rogue" and an "experienced man" (BS 75). All of which may clearly point to a possible homoerotic intimacy complicating the illegal transactions in the dissecting trade.

More specifically, the transfigured or reanimated corpse has been analysed by Oliver Buckton as central to Stevenson's narrative poetics, notably in connection to that 'narrative desire' which Peter Brooks diagnosed as "ultimately, inexorably, desire *for* the end" (Brooks 1992, 52). An end which precludes closure, as Stevenson's narrative strategies make a dramatic use of the 'animation' of the body – wounded, sick, displaced or dead – and complicate the equation of burial with the satisfactory ending of the story. Stevenson's use of the morphing (dead) body then, his "fascination with bodily proliferation" should be read in the context of his narrative experimentation, in which "his transgression of the taboo of individual integrity" reflects the "transgression of the contemporary naturalist taboo of textual integrity" (Jaëck 2006, 48).[4]

The transformed corpse and its agency appear as the "reanimated corpse", a key element in Stevenson's 1889 comic novel *The Wrong Box*, and recur in other adventure novels such as *Treasure Island* (1883), *The Master of Ballantrae* (1889), and *The Ebb-Tide* (1893-94) (Buckton 2000, 23).[5] The cadaver also becomes a narrative 'object of desire' as early as 1882, in the short story "The Suicide Club", part of *New Arabian Nights* (Buckton 2000, 44), where a dead body is hidden in a trunk that functions as a metonymical container for it and suggests a secret and repulsive homoeroticism. While *The Wrong Box* amplifies the morbid humor and illicit desire that connote the corpse of the "The Suicide Club", the agency of the dead body takes on darker tones in the adventure romances and South Sea tales, "in which evil – in its most extreme case, demonic possession – is associated with the reanimation of an abject, colonized body." (Buckton 2000, 57).

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[4] Jaëck focuses primarily her analysis on *Treasure Island, Strange Case* and *The Master of Ballantrae* but, like Buckton, does not mention "The Body Snatcher".

[5] In *Treasure Island* Jim Hawkins thinks Israel Hand is dead, but his body 'revives' and he attacks Jim, before actually dying in the sea. In *The Master of Ballantrae* James Drury is brought back to life after being buried alive and the sight of his body leads to his brother Henry dying from the shock; in *Kidnapped*, the protagonist David Balfour returns to life twice after being led into peril and then presumed dead. In *The Ebb-Tide*, Stevenson's last novel, the bodies of the deceased natives died of smallpox are symbolically exhumed in various moments of the story. It is noteworthy that neither Jaëck nor Buckton in their studies focused on the narrative implications of the corpse mention "The Body Snatcher".

"The Body Snatcher" is crucial in developing this motif. The supernaturally transformed corpse complicates the goal of such narrative desire, proclaims the impossibility of closure and dramatises the narrative process, its strategies of containment, and the residue that inevitably returns. This return of the repressed symbolized by the dead body of the 'other' can be best appreciated within Stevenson's exploration of the limits of representation, a hallmark of his work. As a "writer of boundaries" (Ambrosini, Drury 2006), in this seemingly conventional tale, Stevenson revisits a dark chapter of British history, using the spatial progress of the return to Edinburgh in the final image to highlight historical, geographical, and moral displacement.

In Stevenson's valorisation of the romance, it is not only the narrative structure that evades closure, but the main narrative object of the story, namely the dead and dissected body, a body marked and defiled.

The disturbing intimacy enforced by this corpse disrupts narrative closure, and becomes a complex literary object, underscoring Peter Brooks' notion of the significant bond between the marking of the body and its entering the space of the text:

> signing or marking the body signifies its passage into writing, its becoming a literary body, and generally also a narrative body, in that the inscription of the sign depends on and produces a story. The signing of the body is an allegory of the body become a subject for literary narrative – a body entered into writing. (Brooks 1993, 3)

Stevenson's work often featured marked bodies, reflecting the *fin de siècle* idea of bodily 'stigmata', explored by Stephen Arata, who noted that "the degenerate subject was itself a text to be read" (Arata 1996, 19). Hyde's 'unspeakable' deformity, for instance, epitomises other previous forms of bodily alteration or abjection in Stevenson's work, such as Long John Silver's maimed leg in *Treasure Island* and Olalla's female vampire biting the narrator's arm, just to mention two passing examples. In "The Body Snatcher" Gray's body evades knowledge: the body of a murdered villain, guilty of unspecified crimes, bound in illicit proximity to Macfarlane and hence incriminating him, since what happened to it remains obscure, and suggests an ominous poetic justice. The supernatural turn is also strongly suggestive of a Christian (and Calvinist) return of the burden of guilt, of the sins committed by Fettes and Macfarlane which return to haunt and grieve the sinners, as Stephen Arata remarks (2010, 63). After being uncannily substituted to the unmarked farmer's wife's body,[6] Gray's dissected corpse is eventually left alone on the gig to wander off into the dark

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[6] Whereas the sexually compromised Jane Galbraith's corpse had been recognized "by a dozen unquestionable marks".

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of the night, in the rain, heading aimlessly towards the future. This transformed and revenant dead body of "The Body Snatcher" indirectly prefigures another 'wrong' traveling corpse commodified for its monetary value, and ultimately "lost" by the protagonists, the one in *The Wrong Box*, the 'financial' popular novel, which is transported by a train, the interrupted journey of which emphasizes the instability of identity, placed at the core of an intricate web of financial greed.

The instability of the corpse also significantly connects "The Body Snatcher" to "Markheim", where the protagonist notices how his features strangely change, as if in a macabre mirroring, in the light of the candle that is still illuminating the body of the killed dealer. He eventually faces the visitor, the demonic *arrivant* – another clear analogy with the unexpected and destabilizing arrival of Macfarlane – telling the maid to call the police. This potentially disrupting mutability of the corpse should also be read, I would argue, in the light of evolving nineteenth-century attitudes to the funeral wake, with Stevenson probably acknowledging the popular custom of never abandoning the corpse for fear both of both its vulnerability and its power.

The vanishing and transformed corpse in "The Body Snatcher", thus, denies narrative closure, disrupts realist assumptions, and casts the lurid light of the gothic graveyard scenes on early Victorian utilitarian ideology, reviving the association between scientific advancement and the illicit trading of bodies dehumanized by dissection. This resonates with contemporary concerns about the control of the body and the contaminating power of the corpse which called for the occlusion and removal of death, that Philippe Ariès analysed in his concept of "the forbidden death" (Ariès 1975, ch. IV).

The resurrectionist theme and the revenant corpse as its key narrative object dramatise the resistance to anonymity enforced by dissection and signal the impossibility of atonement through the return of the repressed *sub specie* of the dissected cadaver. This dual 'resistance' contributes to the story's symbolic spatial movement, with the abandoned revenant corpse progressing astray towards the future "in such a world of wet and darkness", symbolically deferring burial and closure, suggesting a posthumous continuity in Fettes' anguished question to MacFarlane "Have you seen it again?" (BS 70). This is the key image of the story: the idea that the troubling, revenant "dead and dissected body" progresses in darkness towards the Scottish capital is immensely suggestive, bearing an intertextual allusion to that paramount uncontainable 'other' body in British literature that is Frankenstein's.[7] Made of dissected parts of anonymised destitute human beings, the Creature too is uncontainable within those

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[7] As originally pointed by Spivak 1985, 258.

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narrative frames which represent the boundaries of civilization, self-exiled towards the unexplored furthermost borders of western civilization, "the most northern extremity of the globe" as the living abject that cannot survive in society, "lost in darkness and distance" (Shelley 1992, 214-15). If the narrative in *Strange Case* suggested "a disruption – enacted in terms of class and urban geography" (Mighall 1999, 151), "The Body Snatcher" underscores the restlessness of the displaced history of resurrectionism in the conjunction of the 'other' body as the recipient of the return of the repressed, with the geographical displacement between Scotland and England, and its reverse route. Victorian death cults attempted to preserve and ideally reanimate the corpse in a "controlled manner" (Zigarovich 2020, 288), but Stevenson's story reactivates the fear of the corpse as endowed with moral agency, conferring to it that "unruly animation that the strategies of narrative plot manifestly fail to contain", central to *The Wrong Box* (Buckton 2000, 38).[8] As in *Frankenstein* "the taint of monsterism, as the product of the unarrestable metonymic movement of desire through the narrative signifying chain, may ultimately come to rest with the reader of the text" (Brooks 1993, 214), Stevenson's story promised 'unquiet slumbers' tainted by the memory of grave digging to the Victorian reader who was merely expecting a 'crawler'.

By revisiting the historical reality and the enduring cultural anxiety of dissection, "The Body Snatcher" dramatises the threat of the disintegration of identity, that had not nor could be secured, in an era of rapid scientific and economic progress, which sometimes must have appeared as uncontrollable as the unbridled motion of the gig in the final scene.

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[8] Buckton does not relate the story to the novel, but I would argue that the analogy is striking, with the due narrative proportions.

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Parole e simboli:
The Great Figure di W.C. Williams

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Abstract Published in 1921, *The Great Figure* is among William Carlos Williams's most paradigmatic poems. It inspired an equally famous *Poster-portrait* (1928) by Charles Demuth, the poet's longtime friend. Both artists may be said to have been 'Precisionists': Demuth by direct association with the American Art Movement of this name, Williams by the accuracy of his medium. This essay presents a close analysis of the poem vis-à-vis the painting. To show how difficult it is to turn Williams's 'simple' language into Italian, the essay analyses Vittorio Sereni's version of the poem.

Keywords William Carlos Williams. Charles Demuth. The Great Figure. I Saw the Figure 5 in Gold. La Grande Cifra.

Sommario 1 Premesse letterarie e artistiche. – 2 Analisi della poesia e del quadro. – 3 La traduzione italiana di Vittorio Sereni. – 4 Conclusioni.

A Emily Mitchell Wallace

«La semplicità è l'ultima sofisticazione»
(Leonardo da Vinci, *Aforismi*)

1 Premesse letterarie e artistiche

William Carlos Williams (1883-1963) nacque a Rutherford, cittadina del New Jersey. Pediatra e ostetrico, Williams fu, dunque, un professionista – come Walt Whitman, che era giornalista, e come Wallace Stevens, che era avvocato. Williams è uno dei quattro più grandi poeti del Primo Modernismo statunitense, con Ezra Pound, Robert Frost e Wallace Stevens. Escludiamo T.S. Eliot, perché aveva scelto l'Europa, non solo come residenza, ma soprattutto come lingua, cultura, poetica e religione. Proprio per questa ragione, Williams lo condannò sempre. Non perché non lo stimasse – anzi. Williams, infatti, lo condannò, o meglio, lo deprecò per tutta la vita, perché riteneva che, con i suoi straordinari talenti, avrebbe dovuto restare nel suo paese al fine di aiutarlo ad uscire dalla marginalità culturale in cui si trovava ancora, agli inizi del Novecento (Williams 1951, 174).

Il compito «Make it New» – secondo l'imperativo lanciato da Pound, il fedele amico ed estimatore sia di Eliot, sia di Williams – fu, infatti, portato decisamente avanti proprio dal poeta di Rutherford, che nella sua poesia usò l'«American idiom» (cioè, non la lingua colta britannica, ma il gergo parlato tutti i giorni – come egli stesso scrisse – dalle mamme polacche e italiane del suo territorio), che trasse ispirazione dalla realtà quotidiana del suo paese (da quello che chiamò il suo «local», nelle sue varie sfaccettature, belle o brutte, sciatte o brillanti) e che, per quanto riguarda la prosodia, inventò, sul modello della terzina dantesca, di cui conserva spesso il tono meditativo, anche l'ossimoronico «variable foot», che considerava più adatto al ritmo della parlata statunitense.

Dagli *A Few Don'ts* (1913) di Pound, Williams apprese a concentrarsi sull'immagine – intesa come «an intellectual and emotional complex in an instant of time» – e a usare «no superfluous word, no adjective, which does not reveal something». Secondo Pound, infatti, l'immagine doveva essere presentata con contorni netti, vale a dire, con parole semplici, ma precise. Tanto che un'ammiratrice e seguace di Williams, la poetessa Denise Levertov, definì ogni suo componimento «a carved stone» (Williams 1998, 116). Se questi furono due principi basilari del Movimento Imagista statunitense, negli anni Williams conobbe e praticò anche altre modalità: dalla scrittura automatica di taglio surrealista a quella che, a mo' di *collage*, intercalava poesia e prosa. L'esperienza imagista, tuttavia, restò per lui fondamentale fino alla fine della sua lunga carriera.

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Degli altri tre grandi poeti statunitensi appena menzionati – Pound, Frost e Stevens – Williams è il solo ad avere influito su tutto il corso della poesia che venne dopo di lui: dai Beats (Allen Ginsberg, per esempio), ai Black Mountain Poets (Robert Creeley, tra gli altri), dai New York Poets (Frank O'Hara, per citarne solo uno), agli Oggettivisti (per esempio, Louis Zukofsky), dai poeti della San Francisco Renaissance (Kenneth Rexroth, tra gli altri), agli attuali Language Poets (Charles Bernstein, per citarne solo uno). Possiamo affermare, allora, che nessuna lezione ha permeato altrettanto durevolmente la poesia statunitense del ventesimo secolo.

Nelle sue numerose raccolte poetiche (diciotto), nonché nel suo poema epico in cinque libri (*Paterson*), nei suoi saggi, nei suoi racconti, nella sua trilogia di romanzi, nel suo memorabile affresco sulle origini e sulle caratteristiche della cultura statunitense (*In the American Grain*), Williams ha mostrato, sulla scia del grande pensatore del secolo precedente, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), come la cultura statunitense avesse caratteristiche proprie ed autoctone, ben diverse da quelle europee, e come questa diversità fosse compito dei suoi artisti esplorare e, andandone fieri, farne oggetto di arte. Non ci fu aspetto del suo paese – e financo della sua regione – che Williams non abbia ritenuto di celebrare: ne esaltò la natura botanica (ai fiori, per esempio, dedicò ben 36 poesie, cf. Giorcelli 2021; ivi comprese le viole gialle che crescono solo sulla costa del Nord-Est atlantico, cf. Giorcelli 2022), la natura faunistica (scrisse poesie sulle trote, sui tordi, sui passerotti, sugli usignoli, sulle tartarughe), perfino gli oggetti che fanno parte dell'esperienza ordinaria e del contesto sociale dei suoi abitanti (dalla carriola dei contadini alle ciminiere delle fabbriche, cf. Giorcelli 2015). In modo analogo, in *Paterson*, egli sentì di doversi occupare della cittadina del New Jersey, vicina alla sua, la cui storia e il cui paesaggio elevò a emblemi del suo paese. Lontano dalle svenevolezze e dagli artifizi stilistici tardo ottocenteschi, il credo di Williams si condensa nella frase da lui sovente ripetuta: «no ideas but in things», vale a dire, nessuna idea che non provenga dalle cose, dalla realtà in tutta la sua verità. Una realtà, cioè, da guardare e da esaminare a fondo al fine di onorarla nella sua peculiarità e unicità e, quindi, nella sua bellezza, perché: «Anything is good material for poetry. Anything» (Williams 1992, 222).

L'arte nel senso più pieno del termine era ciò che interessava a Williams. Come sappiamo, il Primo Modernismo fu interculturale e multidisciplinare per eccellenza. Originariamente nato dalle innovazioni in ambito architettonico, il Modernismo si accompagnò da subito alle arti visive (con esponenti, in Francia, come Cezanne, Gris, Picasso e Duchamp), alle quali si unì ben presto anche la scrittura. Williams era particolarmente adatto a capire e a seguire questa strada, visto che aveva una madre (cui era molto affezionato), che, portoricana di origine (da cui il suo secondo nome, Carlos), aveva studiato

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pittura a Parigi. Williams stesso sapeva dipingere. Nella sua giovinezza, infatti, dipinse qualche ritratto e qualche paesaggio. E quando, in tarda età, gli chiesero perché avesse, poi, scelto di dedicarsi alla scrittura, rispose che, avendo deciso di diventare medico e, quindi, di essere sempre in viaggio per visitare le sue pazienti e i bambini affidati alle sue cure, era più facile per lui andare in giro con un blocchetto di foglietti e una penna su cui appuntare le sue immagini e i suoi pensieri, piuttosto che con una tela bagnata: «a wet canvas» (Williams 1954, xiv). Ma del pittore non mancò mai a Williams la capacità di cogliere il nucleo generativo, per così dire, di qualsivoglia dipinto su cui cadeva il suo sguardo. In altre parole, il poeta seppe sempre individuare e far risaltare la struttura portante dei dipinti su cui si soffermava.

Per questa ragione, allora, tra i grandi poeti del Primo Modernismo, Williams fu il solo che con tanta frequenza e con tanta originalità si occupò di arte nella sua arte. Egli compose, infatti, molte *èkphrasi*: 10 di queste, per esempio, su/da quadri di Peter Brueghel, il vecchio. (Giorcelli 2020b)[1]

Non a caso, quindi, Williams fu amico di tanti pittori del suo paese, che, come lui, negli stessi anni, si adoperavano a dipingere il mondo che li circondava, soprattutto dopo la grande esposizione di arte contemporanea - organizzata dal fotografo Alfred Stieglitz –, che si tenne a New York nel 1913: l'Armory Show. In essa, tra i dipinti che enfatizzavano la molteplicità delle prospettive e il trionfo del dinamismo e dell'energia della vita moderna, spiccava quello di Duchamp *Nu descendant un escalier, n° 2* (1912). In questo quadro l'artista aveva rappresentato il soggetto sia di fianco, sia frontalmente ed aveva, così, molto colpito gli artisti statunitensi che avevano visitato la mostra, sollecitandoli a rendere, da più prospettive, il movimento frenetico della 'loro' civiltà: una civiltà industriale, segnata da oggetti tecnologici efficienti, ma anche, grazie a parametri estetici nuovi, belli.

Tra questi artisti statunitensi pioneristici, che Williams frequentava, c'era, per esempio, Charles Sheeler (1883-1965), pittore e fotografo, che amava presentare il suo paese con contorni ben definiti e che fu sempre affascinato dalle macchine (fu perfino ingaggiato dalla Ford per fotografare i suoi stabilimenti). Williams fu amico anche del pittore Marsden Hartley (1877-1943), che, oltre alla presentazione di soggetti aspri e gagliardi, privilegiava, nelle sue opere, la dimensione espressionista e simbolica.[2] Infine, il rapporto di Williams

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1 In questo, come in altri casi, il fatto che le opere d'arte fossero europee non contraddice la presa di posizione ideologica (l'insistenza sul *suo* mondo) da parte del poeta: era il suo modo 'diverso' di vederle/trattarle che, a suo parere, faceva la differenza.

2 Secondo MacGowan, il legame tra i due artisti era dovuto sia al fatto che entrambi, in quegli anni, si sentivano marginalizzati, sia perché, per entrambi, era fondamentale

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fu particolarmente stretto con Charles Demuth (1883-1935). I due erano diventati amici già ai tempi dell'Università, quando avevano abitato nella stessa pensione a Philadelphia. Tra loro scoppiò immediatamente la scintilla dell'intesa:

> Out went my heart to that face [di Demuth]. There was something soft there, a reticence, a welcome, a loneliness that called to me. And he, he must have seen it in me too. We looked, two young men, and at once the tie was cemented. (Williams 1970, 207)

Anche i loro gusti erano molto affini: come Williams, Demuth amava molto i fiori, che dipinse innumerevoli volte.[3] Williams gli dedicò, oltre alla sua più innovativa raccolta, *Spring and All* (1923), anche due poesie floreali, di cui, una, dopo la morte: *The Crimson Cyclamen* (1936). E mentre Williams cercò sempre di riprodurre gli stili pittorici con/nella lingua – cercò, cioè, di creare con le parole gli effetti della pittura – Demuth amava scrivere poesie e drammi e aveva dipinto varie opere ispirate da scritti di Zola, Poe, James e Proust. Entrambi gli artisti, quindi, ebbero la capacità di «reorient for good the boundaries between their disciplines» (North 1988, 325).

Va tenuto presente che Demuth, come Sheeler e Hartley, tra gli altri, apparteneva al Movimento pittorico del Precisionismo, che, nato dopo la fine della Prima guerra mondiale, fu, negli Stati Uniti, il primo Movimento pittorico autoctono. Il Precisionismo fu una sorta di fusione tra Cubismo, Futurismo e Dadaismo. Nel Precisionismo, infatti, le geometrie cubiste vengono usate per esaltare le strutture possenti e la vigoria anche tecnologica del mondo statunitense contemporaneo: in particolare, quello della sua vita industriale e urbana, che, nei suoi contorni essenziali, senza, cioè, dettagli superflui (la vicinanza con i principi imagisti è chiara), viene valorizzata in quanto espressione di energia e di vitalità.

E di energia e di vitalità è portatrice la poesia *The Great Figure*, che prendiamo ora in esame. Benché menzionata da molti critici e studiata da alcuni di essi, essa è così ricca da offrire ancora spunti per un'analisi puntuale. *The Great Figure* viene considerata paradigmatica dell'arte poetica di Williams perché mette in evidenza ciò che avevano già raggiunto Picasso e Braque con i loro *collages*: la consapevolezza, cioè, che le parole e i numeri non sono solo significanti e simboli, ma sono anche 'cose', dotate di una loro costitutiva fisicità nello spazio e di una loro immediata presa visiva perché

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il mantenersi a stretto 'contatto' con la loro terra e le loro origini (MacGowan 1981, 301-5). Secondo MacGowan, *The Great Figure* è un omaggio a Hartley (1984, 90).

3   Lo splendido giardino della dimora di Demuth a Lancaster (PA) è ora un museo aperto al pubblico.

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prive di distorsioni nella bidimensionalità della tela o della pagina. (North 1988, 326, 337-8).

2 Analisi della poesia e del quadro

The Great Figure

Among the rain
and lights
I saw the figure 5
in gold
on a red
firetruck
moving
tense
unheeded
to gong clangs
siren howls
and wheels rumbling
through the dark city.[4]

Poiché la caratteristica della scrittura poetica di Williams sta nella sua capacità di renderla viva e financo 'visiva' tramite l'esattezza delle parole, la sinteticità delle immagini, la stringatezza della sintassi e la rapidità del ritmo impresso dagli *enjambements*, si noti che qui, con tutti i versi rigorosamente allineati a sinistra, egli non intende spettacolarizzare il soggetto del componimento, proponendolo in una forma che iconicamente lo richiami (anche se, volendolo, forse, avrebbe potuto farlo): niente di formalmente lezioso si trova nelle opere del diretto e vigoroso Williams.

Dal momento che c'è un solo verbo finito, la poesia consta di una sola frase. In essa troviamo trentuno parole in tredici versi. Gli *enjambements*, che occorrono sovente dopo versi di una sola parola, imprimono un ritmo staccato e martellato, mentre inducono il lettore a prestare grande attenzione alle poche parole e alla loro organizzazione sintattica. A enfatizzare questa sobrietà, il fatto che la poesia non presenta alcun segno di interpunzione: solo il punto finale (nei componimenti che Williams scriverà successivamente mancherà, in

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4 La poesia uscì nella raccolta *Sour Grapes* (1921). La versione che compare qui si trova in Williams 1986, 174. Nella versione apparsa in *Sour Grapes* la poesia constava di 14 versi, perché, tra il verso 7 («moving») e il verso 8 («tense»), c'era il verso «with weight and urgency», che, successivamente, fu eliminato dal poeta.

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molti casi, anche questo a indicare, forse, che, come sosteneva Valéry, la poesia non finisce mai: è solo il poeta che se ne distacca).[5]

Questo componimento si rifà ad un'esperienza vissuta dal poeta. Nella *Autobiography*, infatti, egli raccontò che in una calda giornata di luglio a New York, mentre, stanco dal lavoro (in ospedale), per una chiacchierata e una pausa di riposo, si dirigeva verso lo studio di Marsden Hartley sulla Quindicesima Strada:[6]

> As I approached his number I heard a great clatter of bells and the roar of a fire engine passing the end of the street [...]. I turned just in time to see a golden figure 5 on a red background flash by. The impression was so sudden and forceful that I took a piece of paper out of my pocket and wrote a short poem about it. (Williams 1951, 172)

Da notare, in questa memoria, l'uso di «number», o, meglio, di «his number», riferito a Hartley (e solo per analogia al numero civico della casa in cui il pittore abitava): una sorta di personalizzazione del numero che, connesso all'individuo, sembra assumere (sembra attribuirsi) la sua identità, financo il suo corpo.[7] Analogamente alla poesia, il numero arabo che identifica il camion dei pompieri viene chiamato «figure». A differenza di ciò che compare nella poesia, invece, mentre l'episodio occorse verosimilmente di sera (Williams aveva finito di lavorare) e la giornata era dichiaratamente calda, non c'è alcun accenno al fatto che fosse anche piovosa.

Come in molti altri componimenti di Williams, in questo non c'è alcuna narrazione (Riffaterre 1986, 1-13): non si sa perché il carro dei pompieri sia stato chiamato e da chi, dove si dirige, quale fuoco va a spegnere, chi va a salvare. Non viene espresso alcun sentimento del poeta. C'è solo l'implicito anonimato della città e la viva, profonda «impression» (lo *shock*) di chi guarda una realtà (improvvisa, inaspettata), che, prelevata dall'esperienza di ogni giorno e fissata per sempre sulla pagina, ne preserva, nelle parole e nel ritmo, nei colori e nelle forme, tutta la forza. In altre parole, Williams mostra come rendere eterni la 'cosa' e l'istante.

Nella rapidità, nel fragore e nei colori sgargianti che caratterizzano

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[5] Paul Valéry espresse, per la prima volta, questo principio nella conferenza: *Propos sur la poésie* (1924).

[6] È interessante annotare che la casa dell'amico si trovava nella quindicesima strada: il 15 è un multiplo del 5. È, forse, un presagio?

[7] Non concordiamo con North, secondo il quale, sulla base di questo numero che si identifica con Hartley, il 5 della poesia rappresenterebbe Williams (North 1988, 343). Tra l'altro, mentre nella *Autobiography* compaiono sia «number» sia «figure», nella poesia il primo non c'è e, quindi, a nostro avviso, il problema neppure si pone. Una tale identificazione, comunque, è metaforicamente più verosimile nel caso del dipinto di Demuth, come vedremo.

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le varie attività della grande città, non è, dunque, una storia umana a interessare il poeta, non è la funzione del camion a indurlo a scrivere, ma è la percezione o, meglio – e questo è il punto –, è la bellezza dell'apparizione/evento in sé che lo ispira, dal momento che, con le loro caratteristiche fisiche, il numero e il camion dei pompieri si imprimono nella sua immaginazione. Di più. Il camion diventa, per lui, un *ready made*, un *objet trouvé*, come quelli sbalorditivi di Duchamp,[8] che, in alcuni casi, lo avevano molto favorevolmente colpito quando li aveva visti nel 1913.[9]

Nel titolo della poesia, l'aggettivo «great», secondo l'uso che se ne fa tradizionalmente, sembrerebbe anticipare la presentazione di un protagonista importante. E sarà così, infatti, anche se non si tratterà di un protagonista tradizionale. Non solo, ma, in una nota a una lettera inviata al poeta Henry W. Wells nel 1955 (Williams 1986, 500) – più di trent'anni dopo la composizione della poesia e quattro anni dopo l'uscita della *Autobiography* –, Williams scrisse che «great», nel titolo della poesia, era ironico perché, in quella fatidica giornata, oltre a lui, nessun altro, tra la gente che si trovava accanto a lui, aveva prestato attenzione a quel numero e a quel camion. Invece il poeta, vedendoli, ne era rimasto folgorato come da un'illuminazione e aveva vissuto quel momento come una rivelazione. Secondo quanto sappiamo del modo di vivere la realtà da parte di Williams, non si trattava certamente di una rivelazione simile a quella che proviene dal soprannaturale, ma era, piuttosto, simile a quella che origina nell'ordinario, nel comune, ma che ha sia in sé, sia nella circostanza in cui si verifica, qualcosa che il poeta percepisce come stra-ordinario. Per Williams, come per San Francesco – un Santo che il poeta, fondamentalmente laico, amava (Giorcelli 2020a) – il sublime si poteva trovare, infatti, *hic et nunc*, vale a dire, nella vita di tutti i giorni, anche nei suoi aspetti più umili e più usuali. Bastava saperli vedere e riconoscere come tali.[10]

In apertura, la poesia abbina la natura all'artificialità: entrambe, la pioggia che appanna e le luci che abbagliano, fanno parte del quotidiano e vengono evocate in senso generico. Niente di speciale le caratterizza, dal momento che non c'è alcun aggettivo che le qualifica. Servono, però, a sottintendere accecamento (l'oscurità) e disagio (la pioggia serve al poeta per rendere più singolare, aggravandola, l'esperienza autobiografica). L'essere umano, «I», l'io poetante,

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[8] A cominciare dalla sua celebre e discussa: *Fountain*.

[9] Circa il 'Nudo' di Duchamp, per esempio, Williams scrisse, «I laughed out loud when first I saw it, happily, with relief» (Williams 1951, 134).

[10] Più ambiguo nel giudizio sulle poesie di Williams di questo periodo, sembra essere Guimond, che scrive: «All of these poems use deliberately commonplace, even drab, urban imagery [...] their effect is artificially, theatrically rapid, vivid, and forceful» (Guimond 1968, 44).

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che, a causa loro, non può che vedere confusamente, compare al verso 3, ma immediatamente sembra scomparire, quasi fosse assorbito dall'arrivo del grosso oggetto meccanico: il camion dei pompieri con il numero che lo identifica. Gli oggetti, le 'cose', sembrano, dunque, inglobare, sovrastare, quasi annullare, l'io.[11]

Da notare che, contro convenzione, specialmente per quanto riguarda la poesia, Williams scrive il numero non utilizzando le lettere dell'alfabeto, ma il simbolo numerico arabo.[12] Sia che la poesia venga letta mentalmente, sia che venga letta ad alta voce, però, inevitabilmente, il numero viene tradotto in lettere dell'alfabeto. Ma in quanto segno grafico, in quanto rappresentazione simbolica, il numero arabo acquista una dimensione non solo quantitativa, ma anche fisica, come quella di un corpo che occupa uno spazio, come quella di una 'cosa'. Il poeta, infatti, tramite la sua forma, sembra voler metterne in secondo piano la dimensione astratta per evidenziarne, invece, la concretezza, la fisicità. È proprio per questa sua forma (per questa sua corposità, enfatizzata, forse, anche dalla sua parziale rotondità) che il poeta lo chiama «figure» e non, più anodinamente e astrattamente, «number». Non meno delle parole che lo circondano, il numero, nella sua materialità, nella sua visiva immediatezza (North 1988, 338) diventa significante e significato: sta per ed è.

Di primo acchito sembrerebbero essere il colore giallo-oro[13] del 5[14] e il colore rosso[15] del camion (intensificato dal colore rosso del fuoco, «fire», quale si ritrova nella sua stessa denominazione) a concentrare su di sé l'attenzione dell''io poetante'.[16] Invece, come è evidente dalla seconda metà della poesia, sono il movimento e il rumore del camion a sopraffarlo. Anzi, è il rumore che ha la meglio perfino

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[11] Contrariamente a quanto sostiene un critico (North 1988, 329-30), non riteniamo che siano attribuibili all'io poetante gli aggettivi «moving», «tense» e «unheeded» (vv. 7, 8, 9) sia per ciò che Williams specifica nella lettera a Wells, sia per le due precedenti versioni di questa poesia (Marling 1982, 172-3). È vero, peraltro, che, siccome il centro sintattico (v. 3) della poesia non coincide con il suo centro visivo (v. 7), si crea una qualche ambiguità.

[12] Le opere d'arte visive (specialmente dal Modernismo in poi) hanno spesso numeri arabi come titoli. Tra le tante motivazioni, anche quella di lasciare liberi chi le vede/ compra di formarsi una propria (e variabile) opinione. In verità, i numeri grafici, non romani, non sono propriamente arabi, ma provengono dall'India.

[13] Simbolicamente l'oro sta per «l'absolue perfection», «la connaissance» e «l'immortalité» (Chevalier-Gheerbrant 1982, 705).

[14] Simbolicamente il 5 è «nombre [...] du centre, de l'harmonie et de l'équilibre [...] de l'ordre et de la perfection» (Chevalier-Gheerbrant 1982, 254).

[15] Simbolicamente il rosso vivo è, perlopiù, «image d'ardeur et de beauté, de force impulsive et généreuse, de jeunesse, de santé, de richesse, d'Éros libre et triomphant» (Chevalier-Gheerbrant 1982, 832).

[16] Ai versi 4 e 5 («in gold/on a red») le due preposizioni diverse e i due colori diversi (anche sintatticamente: uno è un sostantivo e l'altro è un aggettivo) sottolineano con fulminea rapidità le differenze negli apparenti parallelismi (North 1988, 328).

sul movimento, poiché, nonostante l'energia che sprigiona, anche il movimento viene sovrastato dalla aggressività del rumore (nell'*Autobiography*, infatti, Williams aveva specificato di essere stato colpito dal «clatter» e dal «roar»).

In particolare, «tense», al verso 8, ha una triplice valenza. Potrebbe essere riferito al 5, in quanto numero che, con quel colore e su quello sfondo, diventa «intenso», vale a dire, carico, penetrante e, quindi, memorabile, oppure/anche «tense» potrebbe essere riferito al camion, in quanto «teso» precipitosamente verso la sua (ignota) destinazione. Metaforicamente, però – e, questa, sarebbe la sola parola della poesia ad avere un significato anche metaforico, non rimandando a qualcosa di concreto –, «tense» potrebbe riferirsi ai mai menzionati pompieri, indicando, del tutto implicitamente, l'ansia con cui, dentro e sul camion, essi si dirigono verso il luogo che ha richiesto il loro intervento. Immediatamente dopo, al verso 9, «unheeded» – secondo quanto abbiamo appreso dalla lettera di Williams a Wells – sembrerebbe essere riferito agli altri passanti, che, di nuovo, non vengono menzionati proprio perché non prestano alcuna attenzione al sopraggiungere del veicolo. Quindi, l'io poetante, l'artista, è l'unico a rendersi conto e a onorare questa irruente, chiassosa e stra-ordinaria (e, quindi, degna di essere oggetto di arte) realtà quotidiana. Tra coloro che non prestano attenzione a ciò che li circonda potrebbero essere compresi anche i lettori della poesia? Forse, sì. In questo caso, essa invierebbe anche un indiretto monito pedagogico a chi legge.

Si tratta, dunque, di un camion, che «si muove» («moving», v. 7) – ma con il camion si muove anche il numero 5, che lo indica – e che, con il movimento, crea un grande fracasso: «gong clangs», «siren howls», «wheels rumbling». Poiché il verso 7 è esattamente al centro del componimento, se proprio volessimo vedere una forma iconica nella struttura tipografica della poesia, facendo perno su questo verso centrale, i sei che lo precedono e i sei che lo seguono potrebbero essere visti come contenuti all'interno di due (frastagliate) linee sbieche (da destra a sinistra e da sinistra a destra) a indicare il segno matematico 'minore di': <. Ma 'minore di' chi/che cosa? Forse, con grande modestia, l'autore potrebbe voler significare che, comunque, l'effetto del componimento su chi legge è 'minore di' quello operato dal reale sull''io' poetante. Si tratterebbe, quindi, di una (possibile) forma iconica non meramente vezzosa, ma concettuale.

Ritornando alla poesia, con «gong clangs» e «siren howls» Williams usa due espressioni composte da due sostantivi, cioè, da parti del discorso che hanno 'sostanza'. Non solo, ma c'è molto di bestiale («howls») in questo rumore assordante. Con «wheels rumbling», invece, l'importanza viene data principalmente alle ruote, che sono all'origine del movimento e, quindi, anche del rumore che producono. Le «ruote», infatti, sono accompagnate dal participio aggettivale che

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le qualifica in quanto sottolinea il fragore causato da loro. Si tratta di un fragore aggressivo, non meno dei colori appena menzionati. Dal titolo alla fine, il suono roboante delle undici «r» domina la poesia.

Nell'ultimo verso, ai due colori iniziali si aggiunge l'implicito colore nero della «dark city» (Chevalier-Gheerbrant 1982, 671), in cui al buio della notte (in cui tutto annega) si accompagna la valutazione simbolicamente drammatica della città. Se, infatti, la città affascina, il poeta è ben consapevole che la città può uccidere (come, del resto, anche il camion). In tutti e tre i casi, si tratta di colori forti, dal deciso impatto simbolico, espressi – ad alimentare il contrasto – con una sintassi asciutta al punto da essere sconcertante.

Infine, va notato come, con l'ultimo verso, la poesia ritorni su sé stessa: dal generico inizio a questa generica fine. Se all'inizio pioggia e luci non avevano niente di specifico a qualificarle, ora, nel finale, il camion si perde nell'indistinto buio. La visione emerge dalla notte (per cui sono necessarie le luci) e svanisce nella notte (che la inghiotte). La notte, quindi, funge, oltre che da sfondo, quasi da cornice per un componimento che sembra un quadro (Breslin 1977, 260) o, comunque, un'opera d'arte. Infatti, Marling sostiene che il poeta opera come se maneggiasse una macchina da presa cinematografica, che «first focuses and then dissolves» (Marling 1982, 174), mentre, rifacendosi ad un'altra forma artistica, Townley ritiene che «[t]he immediacy of the flashed image seen against a 'dark' 'rumbling' background is reminiscent of many photographs of Stieglitz's» (Townley 1975, 124). Secondo North, infine, «'The Great Figure' is not a photograph but an abstract painting» (North 1988, 326).

Venendo, ora, al dipinto di Demuth, *I Saw the Figure 5 in Gold* [fig. 1], si tratta di una *èkphrasis*, per così dire, al contrario. Non abbiamo a che fare, infatti, con un'opera d'arte visiva che ha ispirato la scrittura, ma con un'opera d'arte visiva che ha tratto ispirazione dalla scrittura. Nel 1928 Charles Demuth rese omaggio all'amico, dedicandogli un quadro (ad olio su cartone) che chiamò un *Poster-portrait*.[17] Il titolo riprende i versi 3 e 4 della poesia. L'omaggio del pittore non avviene, però, attraverso la riproduzione delle fattezze fisiche del poeta, ma attraverso l'interpretazione di questa sua esemplare poesia.

Perché non ci siano dubbi circa l'identità (per interposta opera) del soggetto – dopo tutto, si tratta di un 'ritratto' – sulla tela compaiono: in alto a sinistra, con le lettere un poco spuntate, «Bill» (il nomignolo con cui il poeta veniva chiamato famigliarmente da parenti e amici. In questa parola, però, c'è anche il possibile riferimento al

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[17] Commissionatigli da Alfred Stieglitz, Demuth dedicò almeno otto *Poster-portraits* ad altrettanti amici artisti: da Georgia O'Keefe a John Marin, da Marsden Hartley a Gertrude Stein, tra gli altri. Questo quadro si trova al Metropolitan Museum di New York. Le sue misure sono: 90,2 × 76,2 cm.

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«billboard», su cui un «poster» può essere affisso (Dobrzynski 2010; Schwarz 2015, 27);[18] leggermente più sotto e spostato un poco a destra, «Carlos» (anche se la s finale è coperta); e, in fondo al centro, le iniziali maiuscole del poeta: «W.C.W.» Forse, in segno di umiltà, ma anche di solidarietà (sono allo stesso livello), in fondo a sinistra, il pittore si firma con le sue iniziali maiuscole: «C.D.».[19] A conferma della loro reciproca sintonia, a metà dell'opera, di sbieco, vicino al margine di destra appare anche: «Art Co.»: questa sigla si riferisce ai due artisti che, come abbiamo asserito, oltre che «cemented» per la vita, furono anche artisticamente spesso accomunati dall'interesse per le 'cose' del loro paese. Nel quadro, quindi, i nomi di battesimo del soggetto (indiretto) del quadro appaiono frammentati e, nel caso del riferimento alle identità dei due amici, queste sono ridotte alle loro iniziali, mentre il loro sodalizio viene liquidato con una sigla, quasi si trattasse di un'impresa commerciale. Queste spezzettature possono significare che le loro identità erano già molto note e non necessitavano di ulteriore specificazione o che, invece, non lo erano abbastanza da meritare un pubblico riconoscimento a tutto tondo. Tali abbreviazioni (al centro del quadro c'è anche quella della parola numero in N., con l'occhiello) possono anche alludere alla rapidità brusca e sbrigativa della comunicazione nel mondo moderno.

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18   Ma «bill» è anche la carta moneta e, quindi, c'è qui anche un possibile riferimento al denaro e al commercio, così prominenti nella civiltà statunitense.

19   Incidentalmente, quest'opera di Demuth ispirò alcuni grandi pittori: dall'artista del New Dada Jasper Johns (1930) (*The Large Black Five*) all'artista della Pop Art Robert Indiana (1928-2018), che lo ha richiamato in quattro opere (North 1988, 342; Lavazzi 2009, 184-5).

Sono tutte scelte linguistiche che, mentre potrebbero indicare la volontà del pittore – che si fa scrittore – di imitare la brevità della poesia e delle sue parole, ripropongono la velocità che la poesia mirabilmente presenta.

Secondo Tashjian, il quadro intende non solo rifarsi alla poesia, ma suggerire anche il poeta nelle sue priorità di quegli anni e, quindi, rivela

Williams' intense desire to make 'contact', to capture experience, to achieve absolute clarity of perception in his writing. Hence the billboard effect of the number five, repeated twice [*sic*] for emphasis, and the suggestion of speed, all of which, along with the modulations of gold, the bright fire-engine reds, and the aggressive recession and projection of forms, visually dramatize Williams' sense of the artist's relationship to the life around him. (Tashjian 1975, 211-12)

Poiché con la pittura non si può rendere il suono, nel dipinto il suono è sostituito dal movimento a cannocchiale – a significare che il camion si avvicina e poi si allontana – del 5, ripetuto fino a quattro volte.[20] Come scrive Dijkstra, il 5 «strains and pulls, receding and projecting itself again onto the canvas, its original movement in time transformed into visual tensions» (Dijkstra 1969, 78). Da notare come, nel dipinto, la forma panciuta di questo numero sia richiamata, accompagnata, qua e là, dalle forme circolari delle luci così da metterla ancora più in rilievo. Da notare, inoltre, che il numero cinque più interno è costituito da una lamina d'oro: è il più piccolo, ma è il più luccicante (Breslin 1977, 261). In questo modo, il pittore intende suggerire che il numero può essere visto sia quando il camion è ancora lontano, sia quando è già lontano. È ovvio che, concepito come l'unico elemento portante del quadro (gli altri, appena visibili, sono marginali), il numero diventa la sineddoche del camion (come, del resto, denuncia il titolo). Sullo sfondo, appena percettibili, i grattacieli della città si intravvedono nella notte e le molteplici linee oblique che attraversano il quadro sono riferibili alla pioggia che cade. Il numero e la sua forma annullano, dunque, quasi tutto il resto. Come scrive Halter, il numero «becomes one of the new heraldic signs that are part of the specific beauty of the modern age» (Halter 1991, 98). Non simbolo gentilizio, ma solo quantitativo, il numero qui diventa l'emblema della società industriale e commerciale di quel mondo. Il titolo che Demuth dà al quadro indica chiaramente la ragione per cui egli elesse Williams a suo soggetto: giudicò questa poesia un capolavoro tramite il quale immortalare l'autore.

Da varie immagini di carri dei pompieri a New York negli anni Venti,

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[20] La quarta forma del 5 (non visibile nella riproduzione qui sopra) è la più esterna e ha contorni incompleti.

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risulta che, nella maggioranza dei casi, il loro numero, lungi dall'apparire sul fronte, in alto, del camion, generalmente si trovava o sul parafango davanti, e quindi in basso, o, lateralmente, sulla portiera del veicolo. In ogni caso, non sembrerebbe essere stata la prima o l'ultima cosa che, all'avvicinarsi o allontanarsi di un camion dei pompieri, un passante poteva vedere. Questi, innanzitutto lo sentiva e, poi, lo vedeva con la sua numerazione, ma, probabilmente, solo nel momento in cui il camion gli passava accanto. In effetti, nella *Autobiography* Williams aveva specificato che, sentendo il camion arrivare: «I turned just in time to see a golden figure 5 on a red background flash by». Da qui, sia il lampo della visione, sia l'insistenza sul rumore, che, da lontano, annuncia l'arrivo del veicolo. Un rumore che la velocità del movimento rende più intenso (il richiamo indiretto è ancora al plurivalente «tense») quando il camion si avvicina. Il «flash» (il termine usato nell'*Autobiography*) non è differente da quello che, a volte, sorprende, illumina, lo spettatore, di fronte a un'opera d'arte, così da fissarsi per sempre nella sua mente e nel suo inconscio: come in questo caso, in cui il pittore sintetizza nel mirabile, suggestivo, numero 5 tutta la creatività (visiva e poetica) di un momento autobiografico di capitale importanza.

3 La traduzione italiana di Vittorio Sereni

Mostriamo ora quanto, a dispetto della sua conclamata 'semplicità', sia difficile tradurre in italiano Williams. Un poeta di vaglia, Vittorio Sereni, ha tradotto questa poesia così:

La grande cifra

Tra pioggia e luci
vidi la cifra 5
in oro su una rossa
autopompa
tesa
ignorata
in corsa
verso clangori
di gong
sirene lamentose
e ruote in rombo
traverso la buia città. (Williams 1961, 70)

Innanzitutto, nel titolo e al verso 2, traducendo «figure» con «cifra» si perdono le idee di forma e di corporeità, insite nella parola «figure» e, quindi, anche l'iconica 'fisicità' del numero arabo, di questo autentico 'protagonista', che viene, invece, ridotto a mero segno grafico.

Procedendo nell'analisi, questa traduzione presenta 12 versi, e non 13, il che ci pare frutto di una decisione del tutto (irrispettosamente?) arbitraria. La riduzione è dovuta al fatto che, nella traduzione, scompaiono dall'originale, sia il verso 2, assorbito dal verso 1, sia il verso 5, assorbito dal verso 3, mentre all'originario verso 10 la traduzione accorda due versi: l'8 e il 9. Così facendo, si perdono, a nostro avviso, nel primo caso, la distinzione e il necessario stacco semantico e ritmico tra natura (un riferimento che, come abbiamo osservato, il poeta introduce di proposito, visto che non lo deduce interamente dall'esperienza vissuta) e artificialità, e, nel secondo caso, l'importanza che l'originario verso 5 dà al colore del camion (come l'originario verso 4 lo dà all'oro della «figure»). In questa traduzione i due colori sono assemblati, invece di essere distinti secondo la loro individuale specificità (e simbologia).[21] Al contrario, nel terzo caso, vengono assegnati due versi ai «clangori/di gong» con l'effetto, da un lato, di mettere in rilievo l'esoticità dello strumento (in un contesto niente affatto orientaleggiante!) e, dall'altro, di sminuire la qualità del suono, che in inglese, con l'allitterazione enfatizzata dal fatto di trovarsi in un solo verso, viene, invece, rimarcata.[22] Inutile soffermarsi sul ricercato «clangori», che non potrebbe essere un vocabolo più estraneo al progetto poetico e linguistico williamsiano.

Inoltre, poiché in italiano occorre scegliere a chi/cosa attribuire gli aggettivi, che, in inglese, non hanno indicazioni di genere e di numero, Sereni attribuisce sia «tense», sia «unheeded», due aggettivi cruciali, 'solo' alla «autopompa». In inglese, invece, le due forme aggettivali possono riferirsi sia al numero 5, sia al camion. A nostro avviso, poiché il numero si trova 'sopra' al camion, «tense» e «unheeded» – l'uno dopo l'altro (vv. 8 e 9), quasi fossero tenuti tra due virgole o tra due parentesi, staccati da ciò che li precede e li segue, in due successivi versi singoli, con due successive pause – vanno intesi come riferiti ad entrambi.

Problematico è il verso 10 dell'originale, in quanto, dopo «unheeded», il «to» sembrerebbe un anacoluto. Sereni lo fa giustamente dipendere dal precedente «moving» (v. 7). A nostro avviso, però, il camion non è «in corsa/ verso clangori» (vv. 7 e 8), ma crea fragori per il fatto stesso di far correre le ruote e di procedere a sirene spiegate. Quindi, «moving […] to» più che un movimento fisico indica un 'provocare' il frastuono, nel momento in cui viene 'attivato' il dispositivo acustico.[23] In altre parole, il camion, in movimento e con

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21   Non sembra che Williams fosse particolarmente interessato ai simboli, ma, secondo MacGowan e North, lo era molto l'amico Hartley e, quindi, forse, anche Williams li teneva in considerazione. (MacGowan 1981, 302-5; North 1988, 332-7).

22   Il suono del gong è composto da un largo spettro di frequenze, che creano varie dinamiche e vari timbri.

23   Rimandiamo al significato nr. 10 e al significato nr. 21 del verbo «to move» nell'*OED*.

il pulsante delle «sirene» in azione, provoca fragori. Dal canto loro, «siren howls» potrebbe tradursi con «sirene ululanti», certamente non «lamentose»! La scelta di Sereni potrebbe, però, essere dovuta al fatto che c'è una certa, se pur lontana, assonanza tra il sostantivo inglese («howls») e l'aggettivo italiano. Infine, al penultimo verso, «in rombo» (v. 11) – per l'originario «rumbling» (v. 12) – non ci pare del tutto felice. Nonostante l'allitterazione con «ruote» e con il participio presente inglese, ci sembra che, in un contesto dominato da 'forme', questa soluzione possa equivocamente rimandare (sebbene in modo assurdo) anche alla corrispondente figura geometrica. In questa traduzione, peraltro, il suono roboante delle «r» risuona ancora di più che nell'originale: ben quattordici volte. In sintesi, ci sembra che questa traduzione sia molto lontana dal trasmettere non solo il significato, ma anche la precisione linguistica sottesi alla poetica di Williams.

4 Conclusioni

Possiamo, allora, affermare che la 'semplicità' della lingua di Williams non solo è il frutto dell'assidua e rigorosa ricerca di ciò che si potrebbe definire un'intensa e vibrante essenzialità, ma che questa 'semplicità' scaturisce dalla volontà di mostrare quanto parole e simboli, lettere e numeri, rappresentazioni e segni siano da considerarsi non solo nel loro aspetto referenziale, ma anche in quello visivo: come corpi, cioè, che impressi sulla pagina rivelano quanto poliedrica ed affascinante sia la realtà.

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Ludvig Holberg e le *Moralske Fabler*: il motivo del lupo monaco e la strumentalizzazione xenofoba di «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden»

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Abstract   This work focuses on the collection of fables *Moralske Fabler* by Ludvig Holberg. In particular, the fable "Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden" is analysed. An earlier study concerning this fable is taken into account, but its result, which identifies La Fontaine as a model, is not entirely convincing. By delving instead into the motif of the 'wolf-monk', it is possible to highlight clear similarities between Holberg's fable and those centred on this narrative motif. In the second part we try to understand how Holberg's texts can be overinterpreted and manipulated in light of the most recent historical events, such as the phenomenon of migration. This very fable is indeed used as a tool to convey a xenophobic message by the Danish anti-immigration association Den danske forening.

Keywords   Ludvig Holberg. Moralske Fabler. Enlightenment. Wolf-Monk. Xenophobia.

Sommario   1 Holberg: vita e opere. – 2 Il 'raptus filosofico/morale' e le *Moralske Fabler*. – 3 «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden»: una variante del tema del lupo monaco. – 4 Morale della favola: una rilettura xenofoba di «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden».

1   Holberg: vita e opere

Ludvig Holberg nasce a Bergen, in Norvegia, nel 1684 e muore a Copenaghen, in Danimarca, nel 1754. Nel 1702 si trasferisce a Copenaghen per studiare all'università, poiché all'epoca in Norvegia, che faceva parte del regno di Danimarca e la cui lingua ufficiale era il danese, non era ancora stata fondata la prima università. Il primo ventennio del Settecento Holberg lo dedica a viaggi di studio in diversi paesi europei, esperienze che gli permettono di entrare in contatto con diverse correnti culturali e filosofiche e che contribuiscono alla sua formazione di intellettuale cosmopolita, interessato a ciò che succede al di fuori dei confini del proprio paese e intenzionato a introdurre in Danimarca le nuove idee che circolano in Europa (Nielsen 2004, 51; Sandstrøm 2007, 436-40; Berni 2019a, 166-7). Per tali motivi, lo studioso danese Bent Holm (2018, 10) lo definisce «a Danish European and a European Dane», espressione più che calzante per descrivere la figura di questo intellettuale.

Holberg è la figura di spicco dell'Illuminismo scandinavo, che pur osservando il mondo circostante da un punto di vista laico non mette mai in discussione la religione luterana. A partire dalla seconda metà del XVIII secolo i più noti intellettuali illuministi, come Voltaire, Montesquieu, Diderot, D'Alembert, hanno una grande influenza sugli scrittori scandinavi. Holberg, la cui attività di scrittore si concentra nella prima metà del XVIII secolo, trae invece ispirazione soprattutto dai predecessori, come il filosofo, scrittore e storico francese Pierre Bayle, sostenitore del razionalismo e della tolleranza religiosa, il cui pensiero influenzò anche Voltaire nella stesura del *Trattato sulla tolleranza*. La fonte a cui Holberg attinge per quanto riguarda il giusnaturalismo è invece Samuel Pufendorf, storiografo reale in Svezia di origine tedesca (Andersen 2012, 133).

Scrive in latino e, soprattutto, in danese, andando così controcorrente rispetto alla tendenza di borghesi e nobili a Copenaghen a utilizzare il tedesco e il francese, e la sua produzione artistica è molto variegata, comprendendo infatti testi storici, filosofici, romanzi e, ciò che più lo ha reso famoso, commedie. Inoltre, verso la fine della sua carriera si è cimentato anche nella scrittura di una raccolta di favole, genere che fino ad allora era rimasto pressoché inesplorato nel panorama letterario danese. L'impiego di lingue e di generi diversi coincide con i diversi scopi che Holberg si prefigge nelle sue opere: tramite il danese e il genere della commedia apre la Danimarca alle idee che circolano in Europa, il latino gli serve invece per esportare le sue idee oltre i confini nazionali, mentre il francese, sempre più in voga a livello internazionale negli ultimi anni della sua vita, gli è indispensabile per prendere parte al dibattito europeo (Berni 2018, 84-5). Durante i suoi viaggi Holberg aveva potuto conoscere il teatro europeo, e per la sua produzione gli furono utili soprattutto

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la commedia dell'arte italiana e la commedia di carattere di Molière. Utilizzando la lingua danese e rivolgendosi a un pubblico soprattutto borghese, l'obiettivo di Holberg con le sue commedie è quello di intrattenere ma allo stesso tempo istruire (Andersen 2012, 137),[1] cioè mettere in guardia le persone dalle situazioni tragicomiche di cui sono spettatrici a teatro, facendole diventare spettatrici di se stesse (Nielsen 2004, 58).[2] Nelle sue commedie, 'moralizzare' significa per Holberg gettare uno sguardo critico sui comportamenti umani (Holm 2021, 21). Holberg è stato un importante canale di connessione della cultura europea con quella nordica, ed è stato capace di adattare il pensiero europeo al sistema culturale danese, dominato dalla monarchia assoluta e dal protestantesimo. Grazie all'uso letterario del danese ha dato un contributo decisivo allo sviluppo della cultura in Danimarca, e proprio per questo motivo è considerato il padre della letteratura danese.

Per quanto riguarda la produzione artistico-letteraria, è possibile suddividerla in diverse fasi, che alcuni critici definiscono 'raptus' (Sandstrøm 2007, 463; Holm 2021, 18-20). Nel 1719 si apre il periodo del 'raptus poetico' (*poetiske raptus*), durante il quale, nell'arco di pochissimi anni, compone una raccolta di *Skjæmtedigte*, ovvero satire, il poema eroicomico *Peder Paars* e 26 commedie, scritte in danese e rappresentate al nuovo teatro di Copenaghen in Lille Grønnegade. Le commedie di Holberg poterono essere inscenate fino al 1728, anno in cui un incendio distrusse una buona parte della città di Copenaghen. Le rappresentazioni non poterono riprendere prima del 1748 a causa della successione al trono del re Cristiano VI, profondamente legato alla corrente religiosa del pietismo, secondo la quale i teatri erano luoghi di peccato. Così Holberg si ritrovò costretto ad abbandonare la produzione teatrale e tornò a concentrarsi sul suo mestiere, entrando nel cosiddetto periodo del 'raptus storico' (*historiske raptus*), in cui scrisse alcune opere storiografiche.

2 Il 'raptus filosofico/morale' e le *Moralske Fabler*

L'inizio dell'ultima fase della produzione artistico-letteraria di Holberg, cioè del 'raptus filosofico/morale' (*filosofiske/moralske raptus*), si può far coincidere con il periodo a cavallo tra gli anni Trenta e Quaranta, preannunciata dalla comparsa di una raccolta di epigrammi

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[1] Questo tema è importante per tutta la cultura letteraria del Settecento, non solo per Holberg. Inoltre, vale la pena di ricordare che già il poeta romano Orazio (65-8 a.C.), nella *Epistula ad Pisones* (Epistola ai Pisoni), o *Ars Poetica*, aveva esposto una visione simile riguardo alla poesia, che doveva intrattenere e allo stesso tempo istruire il lettore.

[2] Per un approfondimento sulle commedie di Holberg, cf. Holm 2018; 2021.

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latini nel 1737 (Andersen 2012, 138). Le opere di saggistica più importanti di questa fase sono i *Moralske Tanker* (Pensieri morali; 1744) e le *Epistler* (Epistole; 1748-1754), in cui Holberg

> si occupa di riordinare, sebbene in maniera non sistematica, le sue riflessioni filosofiche e il pensiero illuminista che aveva contribuito a portare in Danimarca. (Berni 2019b, 53)

Antecedente a queste opere è la pubblicazione, nel 1741 in latino e nel 1742 in danese,[3] del romanzo *Nicolai Klimii iter Subterraneum/ Niels Klims underjordiske Rejse* (Il viaggio sotterraneo di Niels Klim). La scelta del latino al posto del danese lascia presupporre che l'intento di Holberg fosse quello di uscire dai confini e dal provincialismo della Danimarca per rivolgersi invece a un pubblico europeo e, anche, più erudito rispetto a quello a cui erano indirizzate le commedie (Sandstrøm 2007, 466). È un romanzo satirico di genere fantastico, alla maniera dei *Gulliver's Travels* di Jonathan Swift (1726), che racconta del viaggio di Niels Klim sul pianeta Nazar, in cui ha modo di conoscere approfonditamente lo stato utopico di Potu e i diversi paesi presenti sul territorio. Qui l'autore tratta vari temi legati a morale, scienza, parità di sessi, religione, forme di governo, filosofia, di volta in volta parodiando e criticando le tendenze contemporanee in Europa (Andersen 2012, 146).

Nel 1751 Holberg pubblica una raccolta di favole soprannominata *Moralske Fabler* (Favole morali). Le favole sono in tutto 232, per la maggior parte brevi, e vi si può rintracciare un punto in comune con gli epigrammi latini, soprattutto per quanto riguarda il taglio satirico di cui Holberg si serve negli scambi verbali tra i personaggi (Vinje 2020), mentre l'orientamento filosofico rispecchia la tendenza generale del cosiddetto 'raptus filosofico/morale'.

Nell'introduzione Holberg stesso afferma, in contrapposizione a La Fontaine e Gellert, che le favole devono essere caratterizzate da una narrazione breve, inserendosi in questo modo all'interno della tradizione della favola esopica, dove i personaggi sono connotati in modo rapido e la brevità è prima logica che retorica, e dunque si manifesta nel pensare e nell'agire dei personaggi, così come nell'immediato susseguirsi di una reazione a un'azione. Nonostante tale affermazione programmatica, però, leggendo il testo ci si accorge che questa caratteristica non viene sempre rispettata.

Un altro aspetto problematico delle favole di Holberg è la scelta degli animali, i quali dovrebbero servire a simboleggiare una certa caratteristica che si vuole mettere in risalto. Nelle *Moralske Fabler*, tuttavia,

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3 Il testo danese del 1742 non è di sua mano, ma frutto della traduzione del norvegese Hans Hagerup.

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pare che l'autore scelga spesso gli animali che devono rappresentare comportamenti umani in modo del tutto arbitrario, differenziandosi così da ciò che di frequente accade nel genere favolistico, cioè il mantenimento del legame tra un dato animale e ciò che esso simboleggia, il quale può comunque variare a seconda dell'epoca (Solimano 2005, 12-13).

Per quanto riguarda lo stile, Holberg (2017, 5) si dichiara contrario alla scrittura di favole in versi, una pratica tramandata da Fedro, La Fontaine e altri autori, che però, a detta sua, non fa altro che ridicolizzare le storie e i dialoghi, i quali, se scritti in prosa, risultano di gran lunga più naturali e verosimili.

Inoltre, Adolph Engelberth Boye (1832, III), il curatore dell'edizione delle *Moralske Fabler* del 1832, osserva che non tutti i testi inclusi nella raccolta possono considerarsi propriamente favole, visto che in più punti Holberg inserisce dei riferimenti storici, mentre una favola, a detta di Boye, dovrebbe essere inventata di sana pianta, senza alludere ad eventi reali. Prendendo in considerazione prima di tutto il termine 'favola', si può osservare che, in effetti, sotto la maggior parte dei testi si celano insegnamenti di vita importanti, rendendo dunque giustificato l'impiego di tale termine nel titolo. Per quanto riguarda la parola 'morale', può risultare un po' ambigua in relazione ai componimenti della raccolta, poiché Holberg utilizza questo termine in una maniera molto libera, affermando che il suo intento è quello di «at moralisere paa alle brugelige Maader» (moralizzare in ogni modo possibile; Holberg 2017a, 5);[4] in realtà 'moralizzare' vuole spesso dire filosofare sulla vita e sulle sue condizioni in modo semplice e chiaro, e l'aggettivo 'morale' è più da interpretare come filosofia pratica o popolare che come precetto morale vero e proprio, quindi non c'è da stupirsi se molte favole contengono insegnamenti politici, filosofici ed estetici, oltre che morali (Boye 1832, III-IV).

Nell'introduzione, Boye (1832, III-XIV) sembra apprezzare le *Moralske Fabler*, tanto da difenderle da alcuni giudizi negativi espressi, per esempio, da Knud Lyhne Rahbek (1760-1830; scrittore danese e commentatore dell'opera di Holberg), il quale definì le *Moralske Fabler* l'opera più sfortunata di Holberg. Un'altra grande personalità che ha commentato brevemente e in maniera non positiva le favole di Holberg è Gotthold Ephraim Lessing. Nel maggio del 1751 esce una sua recensione della traduzione tedesca nel giornale berlinese *Berlinische Priviligierte Zeitung*, in cui giudica le favole negativamente, definendole non verosimili (Lessing 1838, 162-4; Berni 1994, 32). Pochi anni dopo, nel saggio «Von dem Wesen der Fabel», Lessing definisce Holberg «bizzarro» («*der seltsame Holberg*»; Lessing 1759, 131) e si concentra in particolare su una sola favola molto breve della raccolta, la numero 89, intitolata «Om Fanden og Geederne» (Il

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[4] Le traduzioni sono dell'autore ove non diversamente specificato.

diavolo e le capre), in cui si racconta del diavolo che, su richiesta di sua madre, deve tenere a bada qualche capra. È un compito che gli crea non pochi problemi, e la conclusione recita:

> Fabelen viser, at intet Creatur er vanskeligere at holde i Ave end en Geed. (Holberg 2017a, 141)

> La favola mostra che nessuna creatura è più difficile da tenere a bada di una capra.

Secondo Lessing, Holberg non ha raccontato una favola ma, anzi, ha bistrattato l'intero genere favolistico, perché l'insegnamento finale è privo di qualsiasi morale. Su questo punto anche Boye (1832, VI-VII) si trova d'accordo con Lessing, affermando che, più che una favola, «Om Fanden og Geederne» rappresenta la parodia di una favola. La favola in questione è però un caso isolato: Lessing concentra la sua attenzione su ciò che gli è utile a mostrare come, secondo lui, si caratterizza il genere favolistico, mettendo in risalto quegli elementi che, una volta criticati, servono a rafforzare la sua tesi. Le *Moralske Fabler* si compongono però di 232 testi, e, come sostiene anche Boye, pare eccessivo che una sola favola abbia spinto Lessing a dichiarare che «Niemand hat die Fabel schändlicher gemißhandelt, als dieser Holberg!» (Lessing 1759, 131-2) («nessuno ha bistrattato la favola quanto questo Holberg!»; Lessing, Rodler 2004, 49).

3 «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden»: una variante del tema del lupo monaco

La favola numero 7, «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden» (Il gatto entra nell'ordine monastico), risulta interessante da analizzare perché presenta un motivo molto diffuso nel medioevo latino, cioè quello del 'lupo monaco', anche se in questo caso il protagonista non è un lupo ma un gatto. A questo proposito è già stato osservato che Holberg nelle sue favole ha spesso la tendenza a non mantenere lo stretto legame che esiste tra un animale e la sua simbologia nella tradizione favolistica, preferendo invece assegnare vizi e virtù in modo originale. La favola racconta di un gatto che si fa monaco per conquistare la fiducia dei topi, così da poterli divorare più agevolmente, e si conclude con l'insegnamento seguente:

> Fabelen lærer, at af alle ulovlige Midler til at besnære, intet er sikkere end det som skeer under Helligheds Maske. (Holberg 2017a, 18)

> La favola insegna che tra tutti i mezzi illeciti per ingannare, niente è più sicuro di ciò che accade sotto la maschera della santità.

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Nel suo breve studio sulle fonti di alcune favole di Holberg, Jackson (1983, 98), il cui scopo è quello di tentare di dimostrare il rapporto che c'è tra Holberg e il grande favolista francese La Fontaine, prende in esame anche «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden». Alla stregua delle altre favole, anche in questo caso Jackson cerca di rintracciare un legame con La Fontaine, ipotizzando che Holberg si sia rifatto a «Le Chat et un vieux Rat» (Il Gatto e un vecchio Topo), per la quale parrebbe che La Fontaine si sia a sua volta rifatto sia a Esopo che a Fedro.

La favola di La Fontaine racconta di un gatto che deve escogitare stratagemmi per riuscire a catturare i topi, i quali per sfuggire alla morte si sono fatti più furbi. Inizialmente il gatto si finge morto, così i topi escono e il felino riesce a mangiarsi i più grassi. Dopodiché si infarina e diventa tutto bianco per rendersi irriconoscibile, ma il topo più vecchio si accorge dell'inganno e salva da morte certa gli altri, già pronti a uscire allo scoperto. Infine, la vicenda si conclude con la morale: «va sicuro chi va con diffidenza» (Esopo, Fedro, La Fontaine 2019, 501).

Secondo Jackson, Holberg riprende la suddetta favola di La Fontaine cambiandone però alcuni elementi: il gatto in Holberg inganna i topi sfruttando la sfera religiosa e tingendosi di nero per somigliare a un monaco, in La Fontaine, invece, il gatto si 'tinge' di bianco infarinandosi ben bene. Il legame ipotizzato da Jackson tra Holberg e La Fontaine non è certo da escludere, le due storie hanno dei punti in comune e si somigliano per la scelta dei personaggi animali. La Fontaine non rappresenta però l'unica fonte possibile di ispirazione per la favola di Holberg. In «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden» la circostanza che il gatto si faccia monaco per poter ingannare meglio i topi richiama subito alla mente il motivo del lupo monaco, e non è da escludere che Holberg sia entrato in contatto con alcune delle fonti in cui compare questo tema e che successivamente abbia deciso di farlo proprio, cambiando però alcuni elementi.

Interessante è lo studio di Kaczynski e Westra (1988) incentrato sul motivo del lupo monaco (o lupo ipocrita), in cui si legge che tale figura è attestata in scritti latini, più numerosi di quelli greci sullo stesso motivo, a partire dal VII secolo. Il tema del lupo che si finge monaco per divorare il gregge è di ascendenza biblica:

Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces. (Matt 7, 15)

Guardatevi dai falsi profeti che vengono a voi in veste di pecore, ma dentro sono lupi rapaci.[5]

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5 La traduzione a cura della CEI.

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È attestato nel Medioevo latino (sia occidentale, di cultura latina, che orientale, di cultura greca) in composizioni di diverso tipo: favole, proverbi, epica animale.[6]

La tematica in questione, dunque, assume una certa rilevanza anche nella formazione, nella letteratura latina medievale, dell'epica animale in Europa, un genere letterario strettamente connesso a quello favolistico, da cui riprende la tipologia dei personaggi, ma non la forma retorica della *brevitas*, dato che 'epica' sta a significare che si tratta di un tipo di narrazione lunga, e in versi. Un primo esempio di epica animale in cui compare il motivo del lupo monaco è l'*Ysengrimus*, poema di epica satirica medievale in sette libri scritto nelle Fiandre tra il 1148 e il 1153 da Nivardo di Gand. Il protagonista qui è Isengrimo, un lupo monaco (il cui antagonista principale è l'astuta volpe Rinaldo)

> che ha fatto carriera come abate ed è passato allo *status* clericale assurgendo alla carica di vescovo, e nella ricerca continua di prede va incontro a una serie impressionante di vendette e punizioni. (Stella 2009, 1)

In area francofona, tra la fine del XII e la metà del XIII secolo, il tema del lupo monaco viene ripreso anche nel *Roman de Renart*, scritto in francese, in cui stavolta il protagonista è Renart la volpe. Nella *branche* 3 (vv. 165-376)[7] si assiste proprio alla monacazione in chiave burlesca del lupo Isengrino, che, dichiarandosi disposto a farsi monaco pur di mettere qualcosa sotto i denti, si lascia ingannare da Renart la volpe. In effetti non è da escludere che Holberg, conoscitore del francese oltre che del latino, sia potuto entrare in contatto con testi appartenenti all'epica animale, tanto più che, proprio nell'introduzione alla raccolta di favole, lui stesso cita *Reinicke Foss* tra le opere in parte riconducibili al genere favolistico (Holberg 2017a, 3).[8] Forse però è più plausibile che, trattandosi di una favola, l'autore danonorvegese si sia ispirato ad una favola precedente piuttosto che a un componimento di altro genere.

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[6] Per un elenco di opere in cui figura questo motivo, cf. Dicke, Grubmüller 1987, 735-8. Nello stesso catalogo (Dicke, Grubmüller 1987, 395-7) figura anche il motivo del 'gatto suora' (*Katze als Nonne*) o 'gatto annerito' (*Geschwärzte Katze*), 'gatto vescovo' (*Katze als Bischof*), 'gatto monaco' (*Katze als Mönch*). Nonostante l'apparente maggiore somiglianza con la favola «*Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden*», questo è un motivo molto meno diffuso e con tutta probabilità derivato da quello del lupo monaco, con il quale è più plausibile che Holberg sia entrato in contatto.

[7] Per una traduzione italiana di questi versi della branche 3, con testo originale a fronte, vedi Bonafin 1999, 192-205.

[8] Come ricorda Frederik Julius Billeskov Jansen in una nota (Holberg 1969, 455), *Reinicke Foss* è il titolo tedesco dell'originale francese *Roman de Renard*, che giunse in Danimarca nell'edizione in lingua danese del 1555 a opera di Herman Weigere, dal titolo *En Ræffue Bog* (in danese moderno: *Rævebogen*, ovvero: 'Il libro della volpe').

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In effetti, il motivo del lupo monaco è molto in voga nella tradizione favolistica, specie nelle fonti medievali scritte in greco e in latino. Con l'esempio di una favola latina che impiega la tematica del lupo che si fa monaco, non si intende qui dimostrare la diretta correlazione con la favola di Holberg in questione, bensì evidenziare le somiglianze tra i due testi per avanzare l'ipotesi che Holberg, piuttosto che a (o oltre che a) La Fontaine, si sia rifatto alla tematica favolistica del lupo monaco, che gode di una certa fortuna ed è stata ripresa da più autori nel corso del tempo.

L'opera anonima che contiene la favola presa qui ad esempio è il *Minor fabularius*, raccolta di 27 favole latine in distici leonini menzionata per la prima volta in un repertorio del 1280 e, presumibilmente, di origine alto-tedesca. Ciò che rende interessante questa raccolta è la sua originalità e indipendenza rispetto alla precedente tradizione della favola latina, e

> dei racconti che Dicke e Grubmüller […] ricollegano a temi favolistici consolidati, solo tre si presentano senza modifiche strutturali e in una forma narrativa piuttosto estesa, ovvero le favole I, VI e VII. (Mordeglia 2000, 11)

La prima favola è proprio quella scelta per il confronto, in quanto illustra il motivo del lupo monaco (Mordeglia 2000, 11). Si intitola «Lupus monachus» (Il lupo monaco; Mordeglia 2000, 44-7) e racconta di un lupo che, con finta devozione, va in cerca di un abate. Dichiarandosi pentito di aver rubato, ingannato e divorato pecore, e intenzionato a cominciare una nuova vita dedita alla religione, gli chiede di diventare monaco. Una volta fattosi monaco, il lupo si comporta, astutamente, quasi da santo, prendendosi cura nel miglior modo possibile delle pecore finché non gli viene affidata la responsabilità di tutto l'ovile. Il lupo comincia allora a mangiarsi una pecora al giorno, finché l'ovile non si svuota del tutto.

Tralasciando il fatto che da una parte il protagonista è il lupo e dall'altra il gatto, le somiglianze tra «Lupus monachus» e «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden» di Holberg sono più che evidenti. Innanzitutto, sia il lupo che il gatto si dirigono verso un monastero con la precisa intenzione di farsi monaci per poter ingannare meglio di prima e divorarsi tutte le prede, rispettivamente pecore e topi. Inoltre, in entrambi i testi si accenna alla rinuncia a mangiare la carne e al voler cominciare una nuova vita, per non parlare del fatto che sia il lupo che il gatto cercano di conquistarsi la fiducia del nemico: nel primo caso, in modo indiretto, dell'abate, così da poter assumere il controllo dell'ovile, ma anche delle pecore, che il lupo lusinga e riempie di attenzioni, rendendosi così un predatore insospettabile; nel secondo caso, invece, direttamente dei topi, che familiarizzano e si fidano del gatto, il quale però non vede l'ora di mangiarseli. Infine,

entrambe le favole si concludono con un lieto fine per i predatori, che riescono a divorare tutte, o quasi, le loro prede.

Vale senz'altro la pena di citare anche la descrizione del motivo del lupo monaco proposta da Kaczynski e Westra, che ha una valenza più o meno generale per tutte le produzioni letterarie in cui questa tematica compare:

> The hypocritical wolf is a wolf who has become a Christian, or a monk, or perhaps a novice in a monastic school. He attempts to comply with the requirements of his new status. He vows that he will never harm domesticated animals, that he will fast and do penance, that he will learn to say his prayers. But temptation is placed in his path, generally in the form of some edible four-footed creature. Inevitably, he succumbs. Occasionally he resorts to clever wordplay in an effort to justify his behaviour. But it is too late for excuses, for we have discovered that the wolf is a recidivist. The moral is clear: the true nature of a [sic] animal does not change, even when it assumes a new form or new way of life. (Kaczynski, Westra 1988, 107)

Anche in questo caso, si può osservare che i punti in comune con la favola di Holberg sono più che evidenti. Infatti, in «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden», inizialmente il gatto si fa monaco, dichiarando di voltare le spalle al mondo e rinunciare ai piaceri terreni; successivamente si comporta nel migliore dei modi con i topi per conquistare la loro fiducia ma, alla fine, l'avvicinamento alla religione si rivela essere solo un trucco per riuscire a divorare i topi guardinghi, come d'altronde il lettore sapeva già dall'inizio, visto che le intenzioni del gatto erano già state svelate dal narratore. Infine, nella favola di Holberg il gatto soccombe alla tentazione, la quale si presenta proprio sotto forma di 'commestibili creature a quattro zampe'. Il gatto riesce a portare a termine la sua missione con successo, e non ha neppure il bisogno di giustificare in alcun modo il suo comportamento.

Si può concludere che la favola di Holberg «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden» abbia molti elementi in comune con il motivo del lupo monaco, più di quanti ne abbia, in effetti, con la favola «Le Chat et un vieux Rat» di La Fontaine, e che, quindi, Holberg si sia ispirato con tutta probabilità proprio a questo tema per la stesura della favola numero 7. Va però anche detto che, se tra le fonti a cui Holberg ha attinto per le sue favole La Fontaine è esplicitamente menzionato, la stessa cosa non vale per il motivo del lupo monaco o, comunque, per raccolte di favole in cui tale motivo viene ripreso e sviluppato – si ricorda, però, l'accenno a *Reinicke Foss* nell'introduzione –, cosicché la fonte di ispirazione qui proposta non può che rimanere nell'ambito delle ipotesi non confermabili.

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4 Morale della favola: una rilettura xenofoba di «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden»

La morale della favola «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden» appare relativamente semplice e ha l'obiettivo di mettere in guardia da chi in apparenza sembra avere buone intenzioni ed essersi ricreduto sulle cattive azioni commesse in passato. In special modo Holberg, da profondo credente, attacca qui coloro che, egoisticamente, sfruttano la religione e le cariche ecclesiastiche per raggiungere i propri scopi. Inoltre, Højby osserva che:

I 7. fabel skildrer Holberg tidens verdslige ideal, den machiavellistiske politiker, stræberen, der må forstille sig for at nå sit mål. Som hos den eng. epigrammatiker Owen (d. 1683) stilles det op i modsætning til det redelige, fromme menneske. Netop i 1740erne diskuteredes typen ivrigt, takket være Frederik den Stores bog «Anti-Machiavelli», der til samtidens forbavselse fik en slående aktualitet ved den samme konges udenrikspolitik helt i Machiavellis ånd. I fabelen skaber kattens ry for hellighed den nye muligheder for magtudfoldelse, da dens sande hensigter er skjult. (Højby in Holberg 2017b)

Nella favola 7, Holberg descrive l'ideale mondano del tempo, il politico machiavellico, colui che si sforza di dissimulare per raggiungere il suo obiettivo, e che l'epigrammatico inglese Owen (m. 1683) pone in contrasto con l'uomo onesto e pio. Proprio negli anni Quaranta del Settecento, il tipo fu discusso con fervore, grazie al libro di Federico il Grande «Anti-Machiavelli», che con stupore dei contemporanei acquisì una notevole attualità in relazione alla politica estera dello stesso re, condotta con spirito pienamente machiavellico. Nella favola, la reputazione di santità del gatto crea nuove possibilità per l'esercizio del potere, poiché le sue vere intenzioni sono nascoste.

Questa interpretazione aprirebbe una prospettiva inedita, cioè l'ancoramento della favola alla realtà, a fatti realmente accaduti nel periodo di stesura della raccolta, che nello specifico non hanno niente a che vedere con lo sfruttamento della religione, rendendo così la critica insita nella morale di respiro più ampio. Confermerebbe anche la tendenza tutta settecentesca di impiegare la favola per veicolare un messaggio politico. L'*Anti-Machiavelli*, recensito positivamente anche da Voltaire, è un'opera filosofica scritta in francese da Federico II di Prussia nel 1739. Qui il monarca illuminato prussiano critica l'approccio alla politica e al governo proposti da Machiavelli nel *Principe*, promuovendo invece la pace e la giustizia e schierandosi a favore del diritto naturale. Federico il Grande ricevette in

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seguito accuse di ipocrisia per non aver rispettato le intenzioni professate da giovane nell'*Anti-Machiavelli*, dato che durante il suo regno intraprese guerre di conquista e si comportò grossomodo come un qualsiasi monarca assoluto. Bisogna però tenere conto che la prima edizione degli scritti di Holberg selezionati e commentati da Højby risale al 1945 ed è un testo scolastico. La lettura politica di Højby parrebbe essere arbitraria, infatti il riferimento a Machiavelli e a Federico il Grande non ha un fondamento vero e proprio e non si può perciò escludere che in realtà Højby volesse alludere a statisti del suo tempo. Significativamente, in quel periodo Federico il Grande era conosciuto come l'immagine speculare di Hitler.

Contrariamente alle interpretazioni che tengono in considerazione il periodo storico in cui un certo testo è stato prodotto, ne esistono altre che cercano di rintracciare in un dato testo, anche se scritto secoli prima, elementi riconducibili alla contemporaneità, estrapolando dall'opera in questione chiavi di lettura finalizzate all'attuale dibattito storico-politico. Tali sovrainterpretazioni, soprattutto politiche, ignorano il contesto in cui si è generata l'opera e quindi ne stravolgono deliberatamente il senso. È ciò che Umberto Eco (2016) chiama 'uso', in contrapposizione alla 'interpretazione': mentre l'interpretazione è vincolata e si distingue per una lettura del testo che sia giustificata dagli elementi interni al testo stesso, l'uso è libero e si caratterizza per una lettura che va oltre i contenuti testuali e non tiene conto di ciò che è coerente o meno con l'opera da cui deriva. È questo il caso della ripresa in epoca contemporanea di «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden» da parte di Den danske forening (L'Associazione danese), conosciuta per promuovere una politica contraria all'immigrazione, accusata più volte di razzismo e, anche, di simpatie naziste. Proprio nel programma pubblicato sul sito dell'associazione si può leggere infatti che tra i loro obiettivi ci sono quelli di 'impedire la disintegrazione della Danimarca come patria del popolo danese' e 'lo scioglimento dell'unità culturale e popolare', minacciata, a loro dire, dal flusso di immigrati da altri paesi (Den danske forening, s.d.). Addirittura, come riportato in un articolo del *Politiken*, il vicepresidente dell'associazione Poul Vinther Jensen è arrivato a paragonare i musulmani alla peste nera e a suggerirne lo sterminio («DF-medlemmer melder sig ud af Den Danske Forening» 2002).

Non sorprende allora che un certo Glenn Pacharzina, appartenente a Den danske forening, abbia scritto un articoletto in cui strumentalizza la favola di Holberg per trasformarla in un messaggio di odio verso i musulmani. Dopo aver fornito un'interpretazione più o meno standard della morale della favola, Pacharzina tenta di fornirne una alternativa, attuale a detta sua, che contribuisca al consolidamento di un'identità nazionale 'pura' e orientata a contrastare il multiculturalismo che caratterizza ormai tutti i paesi europei, Danimarca compresa. In breve, secondo Pacharzina, così come i gatti rappresenteranno

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sempre un pericolo per i topi, i musulmani, qualunque maschera essi decidano di indossare, saranno sempre una minaccia per la popolazione danese. L'articolo di Pacharzina risale al 2006, periodo in cui il contesto delle nuove migrazioni e della reazione xenofoba danese era già chiaro. In quegli anni ha sicuramente avuto un importante peso politico il partito populista di destra Dansk Folkeparti (Partito Popolare Danese), che dal 2001 al 2011 ha consolidato la propria posizione, esercitando un'influenza determinante per le politiche anti-immigrazione. In Danimarca, così come in altri paesi europei, l'ansia associata alla migrazione e soprattutto a quelle persone che provengono da paesi a maggioranza musulmana ha portato al rafforzamento e all'ascesa di associazioni e partiti legati alla destra nazionalista e xenofoba (Petersen, Schramm, Wiegand 2019, 38-9), ed è proprio in questo contesto che nasce e prende sempre più piede, specie tra i giovani, anche l'associazione danese Den danske forening.

La sovrainterpretazione fornita da Pacharzina rappresenta un modo di vedere (e tradurre) l''altro' riconducibile a ciò che Siri Nergaard, riprendendo gli studi di Frantz Fanon, definisce «white gaze»:

> the 'white gaze' is still haunting the person who differs from the majority [...]. This white gaze is a colonial gaze, it is a racist gaze, it is a gaze that stigmatizes and excludes. (Nergaard 2021, 163)

Un ulteriore problema che sorge è la strumentalizzazione di uno scritto appartenente proprio a Ludvig Holberg, intellettuale illuminista che nel corso della sua vita si è dedicato a diffondere gli ideali di giustizia e tolleranza. Ovviamente l'idea di tolleranza nel XVIII secolo non può corrispondere appieno a quella che abbiamo oggi, quindi alcune affermazioni di Holberg vanno necessariamente contestualizzate. Lo scrittore dano-norvegese, infatti, profondamente legato alla religione luterana, pur definendo i musulmani come 'infedeli' e considerando Maometto un falso profeta, ha comunque introdotto ai suoi contemporanei, per la prima volta in Danimarca, la religione islamica, cercando di descriverla da un punto di vista non prettamente occidentale e cristiano, bensì da una prospettiva interna all'Islam stesso, rispecchiando così l'interesse dell'Età dei Lumi anche verso culture e tradizioni molto lontane dalla propria. Va peraltro detto che Holberg aveva potuto farsi un'idea dell'Islam basandosi quasi esclusivamente su idee e opere di altri accademici europei (Bæk 2019, 413-19). Come ricorda Bruno Berni nell'articolo «Niels Klim e l'evoluzione della tolleranza», in numerose epistole Holberg si occupa

> del progresso della tolleranza in campo religioso, delle persecuzioni religiose, del paragone tra cristianesimo e Islam, e persino della tolleranza religiosa in Giappone. (Berni 2018, 76)

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Significativa è l'epistola CDXXXIV, che si conclude con una riflessione su islam e cristianesimo. Holberg afferma che né i musulmani né i cristiani seguono gli insegnamenti del proprio profeta: i musulmani perché invece di convertire gli 'infedeli' con la forza consentono la libera professione di diverse religioni, i cristiani perché perseguitano coloro che si discostano dalla religione dominante e adottano metodi violenti per diffondere la propria fede.

Più in generale, la convinzione di Holberg secondo cui l'incertezza e il dubbio debbano costituire le fondamenta su cui costruire la propria fede è un altro fattore importante che segnala la volontà di promuovere la tolleranza religiosa; dubitare di tutte le credenze e tradizioni, incluse le proprie, significa quindi imparare a convivere con l''altro' e abbracciare un'idea di società fondata sulla pace e sulla comprensione reciproca (Olesen 2016, 251-4).[9]

Holberg sviluppa il tema e si professa a favore della tolleranza in molti suoi scritti, e un esempio lo si può trovare proprio nel romanzo *Niels Klim*, in particolare quando il protagonista si trova nella regione di Mardak (Holberg 1994, 103-6), nome che è quasi l'anagramma di Danmark, cioè Danimarca. Gli abitanti di questa terra sono dei cipressi, i quali sono apparentemente tutti uguali a parte la forma (e il numero) degli occhi: oblunghi, quadrati, piccoli, grandi, biocchiuti, triocchiuti, quadriocchiuti. La tribù dei Nagiri, quella con gli occhi oblunghi, è la più numerosa e potente, e per accedere alle cariche pubbliche i membri delle altre tribù devono affermare che una certa tavola consacrata è di forma oblunga. La maggior parte della popolazione preferisce non dir nulla piuttosto che dichiarare il falso, cioè che la tavola ha una forma diversa rispetto a quella percepita, poiché è un oggetto di culto molto importante per tutti, dunque è rarissimo che un non-Nagiri acceda a posizioni di comando, e se per caso dovesse dire che la tavola gli sembra di una forma diversa, verrebbe tacciato di eresia. Una volta ritornato nello stato utopico di Potu, Niels Klim si scaglia più volte contro la barbarie di cui è stato testimone a Mardak, ma un suo amico ginepro gli fa notare che non dovrebbe stupirsi, visto che la severità nei confronti di un punto di vista differente è la norma in molti stati europei, al che Niels Klim arrossisce e dichiara che da quel momento si impegnerà a 'predicare sempre la tolleranza' – espressione buffa, probabilmente usata in modo ironico da Holberg, dal momento che 'predicare' e 'tolleranza' creano un effetto dissonante, come a voler dire che il protagonista non ha ancora imparato fino in fondo la lezione.[10] Riassumendo alcu-

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[9] Holberg torna su questo punto più volte, per esempio nelle epistole XLVI, LXXVIII, CCCL.

[10] Holberg usa la stessa espressione anche nell'epistola LXXVIII: «jeg prædiker saa ofte om Tolerance» (Holberg 1748). Sulla tolleranza nel *Niels Klim*, vedi anche: Kjældgaard 2012; Sand 1994; Berni 2018.

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ne considerazioni di Holberg contenute nell'epistola CDI, Lasse Horne Kjældgaard e Thomas Bredsdorff ricordano che:

> Hensigten med Niels Klim var at fremme anerkendelsen af kulturel forskellighed og at opfordre til tolerance. (Kjældgaard, Bredsdorff 2008, 109)

> Lo scopo del *Niels Klim* era di promuovere il riconoscimento della diversità culturale e incoraggiare la tolleranza.

Holberg si esprime ancora più esplicitamente a favore della tolleranza religiosa nell'epistola LXXVIII, scritta nel 1748.[11] Come nota anche Dabelsteen (2015, 119-20), quella contenuta qui è forse la dichiarazione di Holberg più esplicita sulla tolleranza, priva di qualsiasi intento satirico o mascheramento metaforico, strumenti usati in larga parte nel *Niels Klim* e che all'epoca erano utili anche ad aggirare la censura. Holberg esprime qui un valore morale molto vicino alla cosiddetta etica della reciprocità, o regola d'oro, che solitamente si riassume nella frase 'non fare agli altri ciò che non vorresti fosse fatto a te'. Si può dunque tranquillamente affermare che la ripresa della favola «Katten begiver sig i Munke-Orden» e la sua lettura di stampo xenofobo e razzista da parte di Pacharzina e del Danske forening costituiscono inammissibili manipolazioni del significato del testo. Condannabile qui non è soltanto il messaggio d'odio, ma anche la strumentalizzazione di uno dei più grandi autori in Danimarca e Norvegia, di cui si ignorano le idee, l'operato e tutto ciò contro cui ha polemizzato, attribuendo alle sue parole un significato del tutto estraneo alle sue intenzioni. Ora più che mai è di massima importanza raccogliere il messaggio di tolleranza tramandatoci da pensatori del passato della statura di Ludvig Holberg, perché soltanto così sarà possibile dar vita a una società democratica che includa e renda partecipe ogni suo membro.

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[11] Il messaggio di tolleranza religiosa di Ludvig Holberg anticipa quello espresso in uno dei capolavori assoluti dell'Illuminismo europeo, il dramma *Nathan il saggio* di Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, pubblicato nel 1779. Per una lettura in parallelo del *Niels Klim* di Holberg e di *Nathan il saggio* di Lessing, vedi: Kjældgaard, Bredsdorff 2008, 105-28. Per approfondire l'influenza di Holberg (in particolare delle sue commedie) sulla produzione di Lessing, cf. Berni 1994.

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Quevedo y los *Lusus pastoralis* de Navagero (una cala)

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Abstract This article aims to approach the possible literary influences that the *Lusus* of Navagero exerted on Quevedo's pastoral poems. For this purpose, different bucolic ideas shared by both authors will be analysed, such as divine rituals, floral garlands, the presence of country animals, the motif of the dawn, the female visuality and the constellations. Thus, the comparison between the bucolic verses of the Venetian and the author from Madrid allows us to notice some tenuous concomitances that would invite us to continue investigating this academic line in later studies, valuing the notable circulation of the poetic anthologies of the Italian *cinquecento* during this period.

Keywords Quevedo. Navagero. Pastoral poetry. Lusus. Literary tradition.

1 Introducción

En su día, Dámaso Alonso (1950, 537 nr. 5) se quejaba de que una de las «mayores dificultades» a la hora de estudiar la poesía de Quevedo era «la falta de una compulsación rigurosa de fuentes». El lamento parece unánime por parte de la crítica, pues también Fucilla (1960, 195) sostiene que a propósito de «sus imitaciones poéticas, pocas han sido estudiadas hasta hoy». Pese a que en los últimos tiempos los investigadores quevedescos han dilucidado buena parte de sus influencias literarias, todavía restan algunos flecos por desbrozar acerca de este espinoso asunto.[1] Entre ellos, parece necesario abordar un riguroso análisis con respecto a las fuentes italianas del *cinquecento*, transmitidas tanto en antologías poéticas vernáculas como neolatinas. Estos volúmenes tuvieron una gran difusión durante el período y albergaban en su interior composiciones heterogéneas de escritores menos populares a los ya consabidos Ariosto, Guarini, Bembo, Aretino o los Tasso. Su divulgación fue tal que muchas de estas colecciones facilitaron una vía de entrada al petrarquismo y a la lírica italiana en la península ibérica, convirtiéndose en una «prima grande grammatica della letteratura europea» (Quondam 2005, 133).[2]

Así, el presente artículo pretende aproximarse a los *Lusus pastoralis* de Navagero y valorar su posible influencia en la poesía pastoril de Quevedo. A pesar de que la *editio princeps* se publica de forma independiente en 1530, alcanza especial propagación dentro de los celebrados *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum* (1548, Venecia), antología de un proyecto colectivo en el que participan otros poetas como Bembo, Castiglione, Cotta y Flaminio. El autor español pudo haber entresacado algunas ideas bucólicas de los versos pastoriles de

1 Remito solo a algunas ediciones que se ocupan en mayor o menor grado de sus fuentes literarias: Rey Álvarez 1999; Arellano, Roncero 2001; Arellano 2003; 2020; Cacho Casal 2003; Martinengo, Cappelli, Garzelli 2005; Rey Álvarez, Alonso Veloso 2011-13; 2024 y Llamas Martínez 2017. Misma idea subyace en diversas antologías comentadas, como las de Crosby 1981; Schwartz, Arellano 1998 o Pozuelo Yvancos 2016.

2 Sobre estas compilaciones y su influencia, véanse Cerrón Puga 1999; Ponce Cárdenas 2012 y Gherardi 2019.

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Navagero, máxime si se considera la notable circulación del florilegio neolatino y la querencia del veneciano por este género literario.[3] Pese a que no puede hablarse de coincidencias exactas e irrefutables, sí puede adelantarse que comparten algunos motivos similares en base a la modalidad bucólica, como los rituales divinos, las guirnaldas de flores, los animales campestres, la presencia de la aurora, la mirada femenina o las constelaciones. Por lo tanto, un estudio detallado de esta parcela poética podría sugerir algunas concomitancias –por muy tenues que fuesen– entre ambos escritores,[4] siempre contemplando las nociones de *tradición* y *mímesis* que tanto le preocupan a Francisco Rico (1991, 269-300), en función de esa *macroestructura semántica* compartida por las generaciones de poetas de los Siglos de Oro.

2 Los *Lusus* de Navagero como modelo de un género

La poesía neolatina de Navagero pertenece a una tradición que hunde sus raíces en la pastoral grecolatina, prestando una atención capital a las *Bucólicas* virgilianas. De hecho, no son pocos los poemas en los que imita el magisterio del mantuano: a modo de ejemplo, indico las composiciones número 20 («Damon») y 44 («Vos mihi nunc magnos partus, ortusque beatos»),[5] que emulan las respectivas églogas 1 y 4 de Virgilio, en función de distintos temas que exceden el arcádico mundo pastoril, como las expropiaciones de tierras en las regiones septentrionales de Italia o el advenimiento mesiánico de una nueva edad dorada a partir de un glorioso alumbramiento infantil. Las similitudes entre ambos son tantas que Navagero, al igual que el autor de la *Eneida*, también manifestó su deseo de que una vez muerto se destruyesen sus obras escritas en lengua latina, por considerar que no cumplían con los estándares de calidad que se le presuponían. El testimonio de Marino Sanudo en sus *Diarii* parece ilustrativo: «il Navagero in punto di morte "havia ordinato a suo fratello le sue scritture fate di la historia veneta, per la qual l'havia 200 ducati a l'anno, fosseno brusate, per non esser reviste et da lui corrette; et io tegno sia per non haver scritto nulla, né cosa bona"» (Benassi 1940, 241). Afortunadamente –tal y como aconteció con la épica virgiliana–, su legado literario no se convirtió en pasto de las llamas, sino que fue entregado a imprenta y recibió ediciones sucesivas.

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[3] Recuérdese que el afamado encuentro entre Boscán y Navagero (1526) se produce paseando por los jardines del Generalife. Asimismo, el italiano documenta la belleza de este idílico emplazamiento en su *Viaggio fatto in Spagna et in Francia* (Navagero 1563, 19*rv*). Acerca de sus viajes y filias hacia parques y jardines, pueden verse Chevallier 1991; Perocco 1992; Brothers 1994; Norbedo 2000.

[4] Skyrme (1982, 282) parece insinuar alguna conexión entre Quevedo y Navagero a propósito de un epigrama sobre las ruinas de Roma.

[5] Cito los textos de Navagero (1973) por la edición de Wilson.

Los *Lusus* de Navagero son una excelsa muestra de la pervivencia del idioma clásico en algunos géneros literarios. En el siglo XVI ya habían transcurrido dos siglos desde la escritura en lengua romance de las obras mayores de Dante, Petrarca y Boccaccio –aunque todavía mantuvieron el latín para sus *Egloghe* y *Bucolicum carmen*–; en cambio, parece que a la modalidad pastoril le resultaba grata la antigua forma de expresión, puesto que no desaparece. La *Arcadia* de Sannazaro, *Il pastor Fido* de Guarini o la *Aminta* de Tasso escogieron el italiano como vía de comunicación; sin embargo, otros escritores de la época, como Pontano, Poliziano, Navagero y hasta el propio Sannazaro (*Piscatoriae*) otorgaron preminencia al idioma clásico en este contexto literario. Así, esta *questione della lingua* ratifica la conexión entre el género pastoril y la lengua latina, pues durante el *cinquecento* fue muy recurrente y alcanzó un considerable relieve.[6]

Más allá de estas cuestiones, los *Lusus* representan un excelente repertorio bucólico desde el punto de vista temático. Destacan por recuperar varios motivos presentes en las églogas virgilianas: el canto pastoril, el amor entre zagales, la importancia del paisaje, los animales, la mitología, etc.[7] Pese a la herencia clásica, entre los diferentes recursos que articulan su estructura poética descuella un número considerable de composiciones dedicadas a la misma pastora: Hyella. Esta técnica, relacionada con la amada única del *Canzoniere* de Petrarca, se acentúa en la reflexión y el tratamiento amoroso, ya que incorpora algunos procedimientos de cariz petrarquista, como las metáforas ígneas que denotan la pasión del enamorado, el neoplatonismo a través de la visualidad femenina o las cenizas en que se abrasa el pastor despechado. En relación con este asunto, transcribo los últimos versos del epigrama «Quam tibi nunc Iani donamus Hyella calendis»:

Unum dissimile est nobis: felicior uno est
Tam saeva quod non uritur illa face.
Quod si etiam uretur, tuo enim sub lumine quidquam
Illaesum flammis non licet ire tuis:
Non ut ego assiduo infelix torrebitur igne:
In cinerem primo corruet illa foco.
(Navagero 1973, 28, vv. 9-14)[8]

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[6] Grant (1957; 1965, 116-63) estudia las relaciones entre los *Lusus* y la pastoral neolatina en el Renacimiento. Para una antología de la poesía neolatina, acúdase a Nichols 1979.

[7] A propósito de las características del género, véanse Rosenmeyer 1973; Cristóbal López 1980 y Halperin 1983.

[8] Para la estructura de los *Lusus* y sus fuentes, consúltense Scorsone 1997; Nichols 1998 y Ferroni 2012, 71-94.

En los *Lusus* –como se verá en la comparación con la pastoral de Quevedo– se aprecia la preeminencia del universo grecolatino, especialmente, bajo la égida del Virgilio bucólico; pero este pretexto no impide que Navagero incluya en sus composiciones algunos resabios petrarquistas que tan en boga estuvieron en el *cinquecento* italiano y, en general, durante la poesía de la Edad Moderna.

3 Quevedo y el ocaso pastoril

A diferencia del renacentista italiano, Quevedo escribe sus poemas pastoriles al amparo de una tradición que ya se encuentra en su ocaso. Los últimos estertores del género facilitan que, en la península ibérica, esta modalidad literaria se asimile a otras afines, como la poesía religiosa, fúnebre o circunstancial.[9] Jauralde Pou (1991, 159) propone que, a comienzos del siglo XVII, los incipientes autores utilizan la pastoral como pretexto para alcanzar el artificio burlesco: «La poesía pastoril, de todos modos, había caído en descrédito, por lo menos para escritores jóvenes, como Quevedo, que alude continuamente con sarcasmo al mundo pastoril en sus primeras obras festivas». Sin embargo, esto se trata de una verdad a medias. Es cierto que el vate madrileño vitupera a los pastores en obras de juventud, como el *Buscón* (Quevedo 2007, 594-5), cuando Pablos enuncia la *Premática del desengaño contra los poetas güeros*; en cambio, también hace lo propio en narraciones más maduras, como *La Fortuna con seso y la Hora de todos* (Quevedo 2003, 803). En estos casos, parece que el escritor aurisecular recrea el oficio pastoril en estilo jocoso para criticar algún aspecto concreto, al igual que hace con múltiples profesiones en sus sátiras de oficios: médicos, alguaciles, clérigos, pasteleros, taberneros y un largo etcétera. Además, Quevedo (1999, 11) presenta una cifra considerable de poemas serios de temática bucólica –comenzando por los 23 sonetos «que llamó el autor pastoriles y los dedicó a la musa Euterpe», una sección homogénea y ordenada–, muy superior en número a las composiciones en las que esta modalidad se contamina de la temática satírico-burlesca.[10] Con todo, es de justicia reconocer que se trata de una pastoral ecléctica y muy personal, pues se desvincula en cierta medida de las técnicas empleadas por sus predecesores, en aras de alcanzar algún atisbo de originalidad.

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[9] Sobre la expansión de la materia pastoral, véanse las aportaciones del volumen coordinado por López Bueno 2002. En este sentido, remito también a Ruiz Pérez 2005; Parada Juncal en prensa a.

[10] Para los sonetos pastoriles de Quevedo, pueden verse Candelas Colodrón 2003; Pérez-Abadín Barro 2004, 42-3; Parada Juncal en prensa b. Asimismo, Parada Juncal (2022) establece un posible corpus bucólico quevedesco. Cito sus poemas por la edición de Rey Álvarez Alonso Veloso (Quevedo 2021).

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Quevedo –al contrario que Navagero y que gran parte de los autores renacentistas– reduce al máximo las alusiones pastoriles, hasta el punto de difuminar ciertas características inherentes al género. Su pastoral se singulariza por la condensación drástica de esta materia, representada fundamentalmente por los personajes y el espacio. En ella priman las tenues marcas bucólicas, como la mención a una onomástica asociada al género o la escueta descripción de un ambiente idílico (el sonido de un arroyo, el canto de los pájaros…) en el que se ubica la acción. A su vez, este sincretismo se manifiesta en las acciones de los pastores, pues ya no se reúnen en coro para cantar sus desamores al compás de rústicos instrumentos. Quevedo incluso aplica su lima bucólica a la figura del zagal, que, en ciertos poemas, puede llegar a confundirse con el amante despechado de la lírica amorosa-petrarquista. En el plano estilístico el poeta español también constriñe su ideario pastoril, pues disminuye la frecuencia del epíteto renacentista, una de las peculiaridades consustanciales a la pastoral. Un solo ejemplo bastará para apreciar estas particularidades:

> Esta fuente me habla, mas no entiendo
> su lenguaje ni sé lo que razona;
> sé que habla de amor y que blasona
> de verme, a su pesar, por Flori ardiendo.
>
> Mi llanto, con que crece, bien le entiendo,
> pues mi dolor y mi pasión pregona;
> mis lágrimas el prado las corona;
> vase con ellas el cristal rïendo.
>
> Poco mi corazón debe a mis ojos,
> pues dan agua al agua y se la niegan
> al fuego que consume mis despojos.
>
> Si no lo ven, porque, llorando, ciegan,
> oigan lo que no ven a mis enojos:
> déjanme arder, y la agua misma anegan.
> (Quevedo 2021, 2: 575)

Compruébese que en toda la composición Quevedo simplifica al máximo las insinuaciones bucólicas: la antroponimia femenina que remite a la mitología clásica y su nexo con la naturaleza (Flora), un marco campestre (la fuente, una corriente de agua y el prado) y un amante o seudopastor que se abrasa en llamas amorosas mientras acaudala con sus lágrimas el agua. Además, obsérvese que no se encuentra ni un solo epíteto, motivo que ratifica la parquedad retórica en la pastoral quevedesca. Por último, el hibridismo entre la modalidad bucólica y petrarquista parece difuminar todavía más los lábiles márgenes

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que ensanchan las fronteras entre ambas tradiciones.

De lo antedicho, parece complicado hallar algún nexo entre los *Lusus* de Navagero y la poesía pastoril de Quevedo, pues mientras el primero escribe en pleno apogeo renacentista y utiliza todo el potencial expresivo del género, el segundo bosqueja un bucolismo sintético a modo de *attrezzo* escenográfico, en un momento en el que esta modalidad clásica se encuentra a punto de desaparecer. Con todo, pueden rastrearse algunas concomitancias entre ambos autores, sobre todo, en el apartado temático. Así, la siguiente sección pretende ofrecer una visión panorámica de las posibles relaciones entre la obra de Navagero y la bucólica quevedesca, que sirva solo como botón de muestra para ulteriores estudios comparativos entre las antologías del *cinquecento* y la lírica hispana.

4 Navagero y Quevedo: una comunicación particular

Pese a que resulte complicado elaborar un catálogo inequívoco de fuentes literarias, sí pueden rastrearse concordancias temáticas entre ambos autores que favorecerían un posible nexo entre Navagero y el peculiar mundo pastoril de Quevedo. No obstante, parece pertinente valorar la producción del escritor veneciano en su contexto poético; esto es, considerando los dechados grecorromanos y la vigencia del petrarquismo. Teniendo esto en cuenta, a continuación señalaré algunos motivos presentes en los *Lusus* que también se reproducen en la pastoral quevedesca. Soy consciente de que la impronta navageriana no puede interpretarse en términos totales y que en ciertos poemas se manifiesta de un modo más claro que en otros; sin embargo, considero que aproximarse de forma directa a los textos de sendos escritores es el primer paso para discernir eventuales contactos entre la tradición neolatina y la lírica de Quevedo.

4.1 Rituales divinos

Uno de los motivos poéticos más recurrentes del género bucólico es la realización de rituales mágicos por parte del pastor protagonista, con la intención de granjearse favores de distinta índole. En este sentido, resultan conocidos el *Idilio* 2 de Teócrito o la *Bucólica* 8 de Virgilio, composiciones en las que distintos personajes procuran alcanzar la correspondencia amorosa a través de la intervención divina. Quevedo se inspiró en ellos para confeccionar su silva *Farmaceutria*, quizá la única égloga de toda su producción poética.[11] A mayores, también

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[11] Estudian este poema Candelas Colodrón 1996; Pérez-Abadín Barro 2007.

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pudo acudir a los *Lusus*; concretamente, a la conclusión de la elegía pastoril «Aspice magna Ceres tibi quos semente peracta»:

> Sic erit. interea nivei carchesia lactis
> Fundite, at annoso mella liquata mero.
> Terque satas circum, felix eat hostia, fruges:
> Caesaque mox sanctos corruat ante focos.
> Nunc satis hace. post messem alii reddentur honores:
> Et sacras cingent spicea serta comas.
> (Navagero 1973, 1, vv. 13-18)

A diferencia del poema quevedesco y sus antecedentes clásicos, los votos divinos en forma de ofrendas del poema navageriano no están destinados a conseguir el beneplácito de la pastora; sino que la voz poética pretende suscitar la gracia de Ceres para que sus cosechas sean propicias.[12] En el caso de Quevedo el fin es distinto, dado que el anónimo pastor-enunciador solo desea inclinar la balanza amorosa de Aminta a su favor; no obstante, el proceso es análogo, a través de una ceremonia similar con la que comparte algunas imágenes muy particulares:

> Con tres coronas de jazmín y rosa,
> tus aras, santo simulacro, adorno,
> y tres veces con mano licenciosa
> cerco tu templo de verbena en torno;
> tres veces con afecto y celo pío
> a tus narices humo sacro envío
> [...]
>
> Recibe, pues (no sea mi ruego vano),
> honra del mar al claro sol vecina,
> este farro, este humilde don villano,
> y nadando en la leche blanda harina.
> Recibe el alma de este toro blanco,
> que a su pesar del corazón arranco.
>
> No me pesa de dártele, aunque veo
> que es el mejor de toda mi manada;
> mira con las guirnaldas que rodeo
> su frente, de iras y de ceño armada.
> Amante le herí, que no celoso,
> no sé si de devoto o de invidioso.
> (Quevedo 2021, 2: 641, vv. 43-8; 67-78)

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12 En este sentido, comparte reminiscencias con Tibulo (*El*. 1.1) y Virgilio (*G*. 1.345).

En ambos poemas se identifican imágenes similares: la libación de la leche, el sacrificio de una res bovina ante un pedestal sagrado, la presencia simbólica en torno al número tres o las guirnaldas florales. Es decir, Quevedo reproduce algunas prácticas mágicas que Navagero incluye en su ritual. Así, podrían añadirse los *Lusus* a las fuentes consideradas por Pérez-Abadín Barro (2007, 79-83 y 93-9) a propósito de los ritos catárquicos y las oblaciones en esta silva; especialmente, tras valorar que se trata de una praxis poética reiterada en la obra de Navagero.[13]

4.2 Guirnaldas florales y adornos capilares

A pesar de tratarse de un asunto inherente al género, otra posible reminiscencia que cabría observar en los *Lusus* es la acusada presencia de las pastoras confeccionando guirnaldas de flores para adornar sus cabellos. Esta imagen aparece en la lírica pastoril de la Antigüedad, desde los epigramas de la *Antología griega* hasta las églogas de los epígonos romanos, pasando por el magisterio de Teócrito y Virgilio.[14]

En el caso del autor veneciano, su gusto por este motivo se rastrea en numerosas composiciones, como «Aurae, quae levibus percurritis aera pennis» (1973, 2, vv. 3-4), «Illi in amore pares, vicini cultor agelli» (13, vv. 3-4), «Dum te blanda tenent aestivas rura per umbras» (26, v. 28) y en distintos pasajes de las églogas «Acon», «Damon» o «Iolas». Quizá el texto más característico en este sentido sea el epigrama «Florentes dum forte vagans mea Hyella per hortos»,[15] en el que se insiste en la propuesta poética de la zagala entretejiendo distintas flores y atrayendo con su presencia al dios Amor:

> Florentes dum forte vagans mea Hyella per hortos
> Texit odoratis lilia cana rosis:
> Ecce rosas inter latitantem invenit amorem:
> Et simul annexis floribus implicuit.
> (Navagero 1973, 21, vv. 1-4)

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[13]   Las ofrendas lácteas también se documentan en su égloga «Damon», donde solicita protección al Papa Julio II (20, v. 54); mientras que en «Diva, quae has caeli generatim in auras» (41, vv. 25-8; 38-40) el enunciador lírico riega un mirto con leche y vino en honor a Venus y degüella en su nombre una paloma torcaz.

[14]   Con respecto a la *Antología palatina*, son importantes dos colecciones: *La guirnalda de Meleagro* (7, 657, vv. 7-8; 9, 338, vv. 3-4, etc.) y *La guirnalda de Filipo* (4, 2; 5, 118; 7, 36, v. 6, etc.). También mencionan estos adornos Teócrito (*Id*. 10.28-9), Virgilio (*Ecl*.-6.15-16; 10.41) y Calpurnio (*Ecl*. 3.76-80).

[15]   Fucilla (1938) dedica un artículo a valorar la influencia de este epigrama en distintos autores.

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Quevedo reproduce una idea similar en sus endechas bucólicas «Estaba Amarilis».[16] Al igual que en el texto de Navagero, el poema se abre con la pastora elaborando guirnaldas para decorar su cabeza. La ambientación bucólica no puede ser más prototípica:

> Estaba Amarilis,
> pastora discreta,
> guardando ganado
> de su hermana Aleja,
> sentada a la sombra
> de una parda peña,
> haciendo guirnaldas
> para su cabeza.
> Cortaba las flores
> que topaba cerca;
> veníanse a sus manos
> las que estaban lejas.
> Las que se ceñía
> siempre estaban frescas,
> mas las que dejaba,
> de envidiosas, secas.
> (Quevedo 2021, 2: 628, vv. 1-16)

Más adelante, tal y como sucede en el fragmento del escritor veneciano, Cupido irrumpe en escena. Al igual que las abejas, ronda las metafóricas flores de las mejillas de Amarilis, quedando prendado de su aroma y disfrutando de sus figuradas colmenas:

> »Venís engañadas,
> que son flores estas
> que aun no le dan fruto
> a quien os las muestra.
> »Si queréis fiaros
> de mis experiencias,
> no hagáis miel de flores
> que el veneno engendran.
> »Dulces son, sin duda,
> mas Amor, que vuela,
> cual zángano goza
> todas sus colmenas»
> (Quevedo 2021, 2: 628, vv. 73-84)

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[16] Más información a propósito de esta composición en Parada Juncal 2024a.

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Pese a que la intención poética parece diferente, dado que el poema quevedesco se limita a describir un marco campestre y a advertir a unas abejas del peligro que corren al acercarse a una desdeñosa pastora, pueden apreciarse motivos temáticos semejantes, como las guirnaldas florales que la zagala se ciñe en el cabello o la presencia del dios Amor, que establece su reino simbólico alrededor de esas flores.

4.3   El perro y el jabalí

Otro recurso representativo del género es la inclusión de distintos animales que sirven para ambientar la acción bucólica. Entre ellos, resulta especial la alusión al perro del pastor, así como la mención al jabalí, uno de sus grandes enemigos. En «Augonis venatici canis epitaphium», Navagero focaliza la acción en los dientes del cerdo salvaje, causantes de la muerte del perro Augón. Como venganza, el resto de la jauría y la cuadrilla de cazadores abaten al jabalí y, tras las honras fúnebres dedicadas al can fallecido, lo cuelgan como trofeo de caza:

> Venator celerem moerens Augona Melampus
> Confossum rapido dente ferocis apri:
> Hac illi in ripa tumulum, frondente sub umbra,
> Erigit: hoc ipso concidit ille loco.
> Non impune quidem praedo sceleratus abivit:
> Procubuit iaculis caesus praestantior Augon,
> Fide Augon, silvis qui modo terror eras:
> Tu dilecte iaces. sed ab alta hac fascia pinu
> Millusque, et millo vincula iuncta suo:
> Quin decisa feri cervix tibi pendeat hostis:
> Sintque una ex animo signa dolentis heri.
> (Navagero 1973, 8)[17]

En el soneto pastoril de Quevedo «Este cordero, Lisis, que tus hierros» el perro Melampo rescata a la res ovina de la pastora de las fauces de un lobo;[18] no obstante, el epitafio de Navagero presenta múltiples concomitancias con algunos pasajes de la silva «Tú, blasón de los bosques», de carácter bucólico-circunstancial:

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[17]   Pérez-Abadín Barro (2004, 84-9) relaciona este epitafio con el soneto de Francisco de la Torre «Menalca, deste monte y su espesura». Cabe recordar que Quevedo editó sus poesías: *Obras del bachiller Francisco de la Torre* (1631, Madrid), por lo que podría plantearse una línea de sutiles influencias literarias.

[18]   Este soneto podría vincularse con la égloga *Iolas*, de Navagero, en la que el pastor solicita al perro que, en su ausencia, proteja a las ovejas de los lobos (27, vv. 7-9). Para la onomástica animal en la bucólica, véase Iventosch 1975, 92-7. Arellano (1999) también estudia los animales en la lírica quevedesca.

Tú, blasón de los bosques,
erizada amenaza de los cerros,
temeroso escarmiento de los perros,
que con las medias lunas espumosas
de marfil belicoso y delincuente
(más corto, sí, mas no menos valiente)
su latir porfiado despreciabas.
(Quevedo 2021, 2: 654, vv. 1-7)

El epígrafe ya resulta paradigmático, pues resume el contenido encomiástico del texto: «Al jabalí a quien dio muerte con una bala la serenísima infanta doña María, despés reina de Hungría y emperatriz de Alemania». Desde el comienzo, puede apreciarse una idea similar alrededor de los perros que persiguen al jabalí e incluso en el peligro que entrañan sus afilados dientes: «Confossum rapido dente ferocis apri» (1973, 8, v. 2) y «que con las medias lunas espumosas | de marfil belicoso y delincuente | (más corto, sí, mas no menos valiente)» (2021. 2: 654, vv. 4-6). La evocación a la composición navageriana se acentúa cuando la infanta mata al jabalí, pues el conjunto de pastores y cazadores decide colgar sus despojos sobre un árbol y clavar sobre una pica su testa como trofeo venatorio, tal y como acontece en los *Lusus*: «Quin decisa feri cervix tibi pendeat hostis: | Sintque una ex animo signa dolentis heri» (1973, 8, vv. 10-11). Las similitudes parecen evidentes:

y el vulgo de pastores
y el lucido escuadrón de cazadores,
que Pan gobierna rústico y Dïana
ordena soberana,
al tronco en que fijada
tu testa fuere, honor de monte y prado,
dignidad a la puerta del cercado,
tal letra escribirán al caminante.
(Quevedo 2021, 2: 654, vv. 125-32)

Además, tampoco parece casualidad que, a continuación, se inscriba un epitafio fúnebre en recuerdo del jabalí, subgénero poético que Navagero emplea en el poema citado, si bien es cierto que el veneciano está homenajeando en realidad al perro fallecido. La diferencia entre ambas composiciones radica en la temática: Quevedo, a través del epicedio animal, dedica un poema encomiástico a ponderar las habilidades cinegéticas de la infanta; sin embargo, las imágenes utilizadas por los dos escritores son equivalentes (la escena de caza, la persecución canina, la focalización en los colmillos del jabalí, su muerte y la consagración de sus restos como trofeo), por lo que cabría valorar esta posible influencia poética.

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4.4   La noche y la aurora

Las distintas partes del día también se revelan como funciones elementales para articular la temporalidad de la escena campestre. Las églogas suelen comenzar con las primeras luces del alba y concluyen con la puesta de sol. No obstante, en algunos casos la presencia nocturna permite ambientar las relaciones amorosas. Este es el caso del poema «Nox bona, quae tacitis terras amplexa tenebris», en el que el enunciador solicita la intervención de la noche para que nadie lo descubra junto a Hyella:

> Nox bona, quae tacitis terras amplexa tenebris
> Dulcia iucundae furta tegis Veneris.
> Dum propero in carae amplexus, et mollia Hyellae
> Oscula: tu nostrae sis comes una viae.
> Neve aliquis nosotros possit deprehendere amores:
> Aera coge atras densius in nebulas.
> (Navagero 1973, 22, vv. 1-6)

La simbología nocturna enlaza con la primera luz del día en el soneto pastoril quevedesco «Tú, princesa bellísima del día», en el que la voz poética se dirige en términos similares a la aurora para rogarle que retrase la salida del sol y así poder contemplar en su reflejo lumínico la belleza de su pastora:

> Tú, princesa bellísima del día,
> de las sombras nocturnas triunfadora,
> oro risueño y púrpura pintora,
> del aire melancólico alegría;
>
> pues del sol que te sigue y que te envía
> eres flagrante y rica embajadora;
> pues por ennoblecerte llamé Aurora
> la hermosa sin igual zagala mía,
>
> ya que la noche me privó de vella,
> y esquiva mis dos ojos, p̈iadosa,
> entretenme su imagen en tu estrella.
>
> Niégale al sol las horas; no invidiosa
> su llama, que tus luces atropella,
> esconde en ti su ardiente nieve y rosa.
> (Quevedo 2021, 2: 571)[19]

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[19]   La invocación a una naturaleza animada es un rasgo prototípico del género, como demuestra Curtius (1976, 1, 139-42). Parada Juncal (2024b) hace lo propio con la

La apelación directa y la posterior súplica ante las primeras luces del alba podrían recordar a las del anterior poema de Navagero. Además, al igual que en el caso precedente, se reproducen adjetivos valorativos de cariz positivo para describir la belleza de las partes del día y de las zagalas: «bona», «tacitis» (1973, 22, v. 1), «Dulcia» (v. 2), «carae» o «molliae» (v. 3); frente a «bellísima» (2021, 2: 571, v. 1), «triunfadora» (v. 2), «risueño» (v. 3), «flagrante y rica» (v. 5) o «hermosa» (v. 8).

Este poema quevedesco también podría ser comparado con otros textos de Navagero, como «Iam caeli referat fores» o «Dia Tithoni senioris uxor», dado que ambos presentan a la aurora como protagonista absoluta. De hecho, el primero se refiere a ella como una divinidad que, al rayar el amanecer, sale de su cámara dorada para alumbrar la escena y ofrecer con su alegre voz la luz al día:

> Iam caeli referat fores
> Aurato e' thalamo exiens
> Mater Memnonis, et diem
> Laeto provocat ore.
> (Navagero 1973, 34, vv. 1-4)

Las descripciones quevedescas parecen muy afines, pues en el soneto anterior se define a la aurora como «oro risueño y púrpura pintora» (v. 3), en base a un preciosismo similar a través de los colores dorados. Asimismo, en la silva «¡Oh Floris! Quién pudiera» las primeras luces del día son equiparadas a un instrumento, ya que a partir de su sonido se anuncia la llegada de una nueva jornada:

> El clarín de la aurora,
> lira de las florestas y armonía,
> la voz de abril y mayo más sonora,
> el contrapunto de la luz del día,
> oyendo las desdichas que pregono,
> muda la letra y entristece el tono.
> (Quevedo 2021, 2: 653, vv. 13-18)

En el segundo poema Navagero reitera las imágenes ya expuestas en el anterior; esto es, se apunta a la aurora como una diosa sonrojada que, en su carruaje dorado, disipa las nieblas de la noche y trae consigo las primeras luces del día:

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bucólica quevedesca.

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Dia Tithoni senioris uxor,
Quae diem vultu radiante pandis:
Cum genas effers roseas rubenti
praevia soli.
(Navagero 1973, 37, vv. 1-4)

El énfasis que el poeta veneciano aplica a estas descripciones preciosistas permite advertir su predilección por ellas. Es cierto que estas imágenes pictóricas en torno a la aurora están vigentes en la literatura occidental desde las epopeyas homéricas; sin embargo, esto no impediría que Quevedo hubiese podido tener en cuenta las propuestas de Navagero, mediante ese metafórico carro dorado que anuncia un nuevo amanecer.

4.5 Los ojos, los astros y la miel

Muy relacionadas con los motivos anteriores se hallan las imágenes cosmológicas de las estrellas como ojos de la amada. La asociación entre la luminosidad de los astros y la mirada femenina es un tópico petrarquista, aunque estas descripciones pueden rastrearse ya en los *Carmina* de Catulo.[20] En sus *Lusus*, Navagero desarrolla la idea de que la pastora es la artífice absoluta de la iluminación en la estancia pastoril, debido a que con sus ojos se encarga de ofrecer luz o sombra, en función de si los abre o no:

Nil tecum mihi iam Phoebe est, nil Nox mihi tecum:
A vobis non est noxve, disve mihi.
Quantum ad me, ut libet auricomo Sol igneus axe
Exeat Eoae Tethytos e' gremio:
Ut libet, inducat tacitas Nox atra tenebras:
Fert mihi noctem oculis, fert mihi Hyella diem.
(Navagero 1973, 38, vv. 1-6)

Una vez más, se vuelve a mencionar al sol y a la noche, aunque en esta ocasión son meros circunstantes subordinados a la acción de Hyella. La voz poética renuncia a la actuación de las diferentes partes del día y se entrega al poder hiperbólico de su dama, capaz de otorgar luz u oscuridad con un simple movimiento ocular.

Estas ideas neoplatónicas se subrayan en el poema «Quamvis te peream aeque Hyella totam», que versa sobre los ojos de la pastora, definidos como estrellas por la luz que de ellos emana:

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[20] A propósito de la visualidad femenina, es importante el trabajo de Fernández Rodríguez 2019.

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Quamvis te peream aeque Hyella totam:
Nec pars sit mea lux tui ulla, quae me
Saevo non penitus perurat igne
Fulgentes tamen illi, amabilesque
Illi, sideribus pares ocelli
Nostri maxima causa sunt furoris
O cari nimis, O benigna ocelli,
O dulce mihi melle dulciores.
(Navagero 1973, 32, vv. 1-8)

Aparte de la equiparación total de la dama como luz, por quien arde en deseos el enunciador, apréciese que sus ojos son representados por la metafórica imagen de los astros: «Illi, sideribus pares ocelli» (v. 6) y comparados con la miel –producto típico del género bucólico– a causa de su dulzura: «O cari nimis, O benigna ocelli, | O dulce mihi melle dulciores» (vv. 7-8).

En las endechas quevedescas arriba comentadas, Quevedo vuelve a incorporar imágenes muy similares. En este caso, Amarilis es identificada directamente con el sol, pues a partir de una metáfora elíptica deja a oscuras la estancia pastoril con solo cerrar sus párpados:

Diola un sueño blando,
ambos ojos cierra,
dando noche a todos
en que tristes duerman.
(Quevedo 2021, 2: 628, vv. 41-4)

No obstante, las semejanzas entre los textos de Navagero y este poema se exacerban hacia el final de la composición, cuando la pastora despierta y, con sus metafóricos astros, ciega a unas inocentes abejas que se habían acercado a su rostro, confundiendo sus mejillas sonrosadas con flores:

Ella, en este punto,
del sueño despierta:
abrió entrambos ojos
con belleza inmensa.
Y las avecillas,
con dos soles ciegas,
por no tener vista
de águilas soberbias,
murmurando huyen
y, cobardes, piensan
que luz que ha cegado
sus ojuelos quema.
La miel que buscaban

en sus bellas prendas,
de sólo mirarla,
la llevaron hecha.
(Quevedo 2021, 2: 628, vv. 85-100)

Más allá de las reminiscencias a la vista de las águilas, que, según la creencia popular, podían sostener la mirada al sol;[21] compruébese que, al igual que sucedía en el poema de Navagero, los ojos de la zagala estimulan la aparición de la miel. En este caso, la mención a las abejas favorece la alusión a esta sustancia. Los engañados insectos no han podido libar el polen de las mejillas de la pastora para cumplir con su función natural; en cambio, sí han contemplado sus melifluos ojos, por lo que ahora ellos mismos se derriten de forma figurada por Amarilis, llevando consigo la miel que no han podido confeccionar a partir de las flores. Las concomitancias entre Navagero y Quevedo parecen justificables en este sentido, ya que no solo comparten la imagen tópica de los ojos femeninos como astros; sino que también atribuyen a ellos la creación de un producto típicamente pastoril.

4.6 El calor y el Can Mayor

En última instancia, las coincidencias entre ambos autores también alcanzan las metáforas ígneas con respecto al proceso físico de la evaporación. En este contexto, es habitual la mención a una corriente de agua cuyo líquido resulta bebido ('consumido') por la acción abrasadora de una estrella. Navagero expone estas ideas en el idilio «Dum te blanda tenent aestivas rura per umbras»:

Nunc pariter nitida recubare iuvaret in umbra:
Et capere in viridi somnia grata toro.
Nunc pariter nuda fontes invadere sura:
Torrida dum siccus finderet arva canis.
Saepius in silvis lepores captare fugaces:
Et volucres fictis fallere carminibus.
(Navagero 1973, 26, vv. 67-72)

En esta ocasión, el amante desearía estar en un ambiente rural, disfrutando de la compañía de su zagala a la sombra de un árbol. Además, el *locus amoenus* se acentúa con la mención a unas fuentes

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21 Por esta facultad, funcionan como *exempla ex contrario* con respecto a las abejas. Esta idea se documenta en la Antigüedad (Arist. *HA* 9.620a1-5.; Plin. *Nat*. 10.3-10), en el *Bestiario medieval* (Malaxecheverría 1987, 73-8) y en la lírica petrarquista (Manero Sorolla 1990, 297-301). El propio Quevedo (2021) apunta a esta peculiaridad en otro soneto pastoril: «¿Castigas en la águila el delito» (578, vv. 1-8).

de cuyas aguas bebe la sedienta estrella del perro: «Nunc pariter nuda fontes invadere sura: | Torrida dum siccus finderet arva canis» (vv. 69-70). La referencia a la constelación Sirio o Can Mayor se utiliza como *exemplum* para evocar el calor de la estancia, en un entorno idílico que se completa con la inclusión de otros animales.

El soneto pastoril quevedesco «Dichoso tú, que naces sin testigo» reivindica algunos motivos presentes en la composición navageriana, atendiendo sobre todo a la imagen astronómica de Sirio saciando su sed con las aguas fluviales:

> Dichoso tú, que naces sin testigo
> y de progenitores ignorados,
> ¡oh Nilo!, y nube y río, al campo y prados
> ya fertilizas troncos y ya trigo.
>
> El humor que, sediento y enemigo,
> bebe el rabioso Can a los sagrados
> ríos le añade pródigo a tus vados,
> siendo Acuario el León para contigo
> [...]
> Pues cuanto el Sirio de tus lazos rojos
> arde en bochornos de oro crespo, crece
> más su raudal, tu yelo y mis enojos.
> (Quevedo 2021, 2: 569, vv. 1-8; 12-14)

Ambos poemas coinciden en la ambientación estival que se trasluce en las imágenes que evocan el calor de la estancia. Asimismo, la ubicación espacial en las riberas del Nilo denota la presencia de la insufrible canícula, que obliga a la constelación a beber de sus aguas para refrescarse. Los protagonistas son los mismos: una corriente fluvial y la estrella Sirio, que consume sedienta el líquido elemento. El terceto final ratifica estas cuestiones, puesto que se describe a la constelación a través de su condición ardorosa.[22]

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[22] Quevedo (2021) reproduce esta imagen en otros poemas: «Miré los muros de la patria mía» (96, vv. 5-6), «Ostentas, de prodigios coronado» (175, vv. 5-6) y «Ya la insana Canícula, ladrando» (196). Desde la Antigüedad (Hom. *Il*. 22.25-31; Eratosth. *Cat*. 1. 33), Sirio es considerada la estrella más brillante del firmamento.

5 Conclusiones

Las mencionadas relaciones intertextuales entre los *Lusus* de Navagero y la pastoral de Quevedo permiten insinuar una posible influencia del escritor italiano sobre el español, al menos, en el terreno bucólico-amoroso. Es cierto que muchos de los motivos estudiados pertenecen a un ideario poético colectivo ya del todo asentado en el panorama literario barroco; en cambio, las coincidencias particulares en algunos asuntos más concretos, como la ceremonia nigromántica, el dios Amor alrededor de las guirnaldas florales, los colmillos y la testa del jabalí clavada en una pica como trofeo de caza, los ruegos a la aurora y las descripciones preciosistas, las asociaciones astronómicas entre los ojos y la miel o la imagen de la estrella Sirio libando las aguas fluviales, favorecen un eventual análisis comparativo entre ambos autores. Con todo, cabe reseñar que la influencia no parece única: puede que Quevedo tuviese en mente a Navagero, pero no hay ningún dato que lo acredite de forma absoluta, por lo que parece más recomendable emplear para este estudio la terminología ya mentada de Rico; es decir, el manejo del concepto de *tradición* en detrimento del de *fuente* literaria.

Asimismo, este artículo reivindica la importancia de aproximarse a una parcela poética no del todo estudiada; esto es, las antologías italianas del siglo XVI, tanto en latín como en romance. Aparte de los versos bucólicos de Navagero, incluidos en los *Carmina quinque illustrium poetarum*, es probable que otras ediciones colectivas bien difundidas, como las *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi autori* (1545) de Ferrari, hayan ejercido algún tipo de ascendencia en la obra lírica de Quevedo. Concluyo, pues, dejando abierto este campo de estudio a ulteriores investigaciones que permitan continuar desenredando la complicada madeja de influencias literarias en el grueso de la poesía quevedesca.

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Notas sobre la descripción bibliográfica y la configuración del manuscrito M-139 de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo

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Abstract This paper examines from a codicological and bibliographical point of view the manuscript M-139 of the Menéndez Pelayo Library (Santander, Spain). The aim is to provide new information on the materiality of the codex while linking the study of the material and content of the manuscript, in order to draw conclusions about its configuration. After the identification of the manuscript, the contents are explained in detail. The material aspects are then dealt with, from the composition and markings of the paper, through the systems of arrangement to a brief paleographic analysis.

Keywords Codicology. Material bibliography. Manuscript. Ms. M-139. Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo. Quevedo.

1 Introducción

La celebridad del manuscrito M-139 de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo[1] emana de

> la pretensión del colector de reunir en este tomo textos inéditos, afán frecuente en la recopilación de la obra manuscrita de Quevedo tras haber pasado por los tórculos una gran parte de su obra poética. (Pérez Cuenca 2015, 67)

Su importancia se refleja en la cantidad de ocasiones en las que se abordó su descripción bibliográfica. Las primeras caracterizaciones aparecieron a mediados del siglo pasado y actualmente se siguen precisando datos en estudios que implican al códice. Entre las principales descripciones del manuscrito no pueden dejar de señalarse los trabajos de Astrana (1943, 1336-40), Artigas y Sánchez Reyes (1957, 215-23), Blecua (1969, 23) y Plata (2000, 289). Se lee más sobre él en Pérez Cuenca (2015, 65) y Conde (2019, 272), entre otros. La edición del manuscrito que actualmente estamos llevando a cabo obliga a revisar nuevamente la dimensión bibliográfica del mismo, con el fin de poner el conocimiento acerca de la materialidad del códice en relación con su contenido.

2 Identificación

El manuscrito objeto de descripción, cuyos datos identificatorios se pueden ver copiados con lápiz en el verso de la hoja de guarda anterior, es el reconocido con la signatura topográfica M-139 (*olim* 108) de los fondos de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo en Santander. Se corresponde con el número 108 del catálogo de la biblioteca. Está compuesto por la portada, doscientos diecinueve folios numerados y un folio en blanco sin numeración, situado entre los folios 137 y 138. La portada, a modo de título, recoge la siguiente información:

1 Santander, Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo, M-139.

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FRAGMENTOS | NO IMPRESOS HASTA OY. | De D. FRANCISCO de Qvevedo | Villegas. | Cauallero en el | Orden de Santiago, y Señor | de la Torre de Juan Abad. | Recogidos | Por un aficionado, | Para los Discretos. | Es de la Libreria | Del Dʳ. D. Ambrosio de la | Cuesta y Saauedra

Por otra parte, en el tejuelo se explicita

QUEVEDO | OBRAS | INÉDITAS.

3 Contenido

El contenido del manuscrito M-139 tiene carácter misceláneo. Acoge tanto piezas teatrales como poemas, de modo que la heterogeneidad del material parte no solo de los asuntos tratados en los textos, sino también de la propia forma literaria de estos. La primera parte del códice recoge las piezas teatrales: dos comedias (*Cómo ha de ser el privado* y *Bien haya quien a los suyos parece*), el fragmento inicial de otra (*Pero Vázquez de Escamilla*) y un *Fragmento que de la letra del autor estaba escrito en el reverso de una carta*. Ocupan los folios 1*r*-149*r*. La segunda unidad macroestructural del libro la integran ciento veintinueve poemas satírico-burlescos que abarcan los folios 150*r*-219*v*.[2] Destacan el grupo de dieciséis sátiras antigongorinas y las cincuenta y una traducciones de epigramas de Marcial. Formalmente, y al margen de las traducciones de Marcial, predominan los sonetos: un total de cuarenta y dos, frente a treinta y una composiciones en otros metros, lo que supone un 57,5% del total. Además de esta división entre teatro y poesía, la heterogeneidad del manuscrito se advierte en la presencia de textos de diferentes autores. Sobresale, sin duda, Francisco de Quevedo, a quien la portada atribuye la autoría de las obras. No obstante, se incluye un texto de Luis Cernúsculo de Guzmán, la segunda de las comedias (*Bien haya quien a los suyos parece*), y cuatro poemas de Luis de Góngora escritos contra Quevedo («Con poca luz y menos disciplina,»[3] (42), «¿Quién se podrá poner contigo en quintas» (43), «Anacreonte español, no hay quien os tope» (46) y «Cierto poeta en forma peregrina» (50)). La ausencia de otros nombres invita a postular la autoría quevedesca en los textos cuyo artífice no aparece explicitado. Sin embargo, no podría descartarse la posibilidad de que sean obra de una pluma desconocida.[4]

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[2] Artigas y Sánchez Reyes (1957, 216-23) indican los epígrafes y primeros versos de cada uno de ellos, señalando la página del manuscrito en la que se localizan.

[3] Cito siguiendo mi propia transcripción paleográfico-interpretativa del manuscrito.

[4] Sobre los problemas para determinar la autoría de versos transmitidos de manera manuscrita, puede verse Carreira 2004, 610-11.

La primera obra copiada en el manuscrito es la comedia quevedesca *Cómo ha de ser el privado* (ff. 1*r*-70*v*), editada por Arellano y García Valdés (2011) junto al resto de la producción teatral de Quevedo, y re-editada por Arellano en 2017.[5] Se conserva esta copia de la biblioteca santanderina como único testimonio manuscrito. Fue escrita entre 1623 y 1624 y revisada posteriormente, entre finales de 1628 y 1629, dato que se deduce de la referencia al casamiento de la infanta con el rey de Hungría (el 25 de abril de 1629). Esta alusión

> puede hacerse antes de que se efectúe el suceso, cuando ya se han decidido los esponsales, de modo que hacia fines de 1628 po-dría ser fecha aceptable para la revisión de la comedia. (Arella-no 2017, 14)

Sobre la fecha de composición, Arellano (2017, 15) sostiene que

> La organización y motivos de la comedia apuntan precisamente a una primera redacción hacia fines de 1623. En efecto, si la co-media hubiera sido escrita para celebrar las bodas de la infanta y no en ocasión de la visita del príncipe de Gales, resultaría incom-prensible la importancia concedida a esa vista y al personaje de Carlos de Dinamarca (Carlos de Inglaterra en realidad) y la me-ra presencia episódica del príncipe transilvano (rey de Hungría).

La pieza, según Gentilli (2004, 10, en Arellano, García Valdés 2011, 26) pertenece al género de la «comedia noticiosa o drama documen-tal», y debe ser vista «en relación con la tratadística de la privanza». Como se puede leer en el estudio preliminar de la edición de Arellano y García Valdés (2011, 22), la obra comienza con la subida al trono del rey de Nápoles, Fernando, lo cual propicia una reflexión sobre cuál es el mejor modo de gobernar:

> REY Ora bien, ¿a qué renombre
> es justo que aspire yo,
> de aquellos que mereció
> por sus virtudes el hombre?   [60]
> Comienzo a reinar y es bien
> que aspire mi inclinación
> a merecer el blasón
> que pretendo que me den.

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[5] Además de las ediciones ya mencionadas, fue editada por Artigas (1927), Blecua (1981) y Gentilli (2004). Ha sido, asimismo, objeto de diversos estudios.

Esta concluye con la necesidad de un privado, posición que ocupará el marqués de Valisero. La obra gira en torno a su retrato como valido ideal, el cual reconoce, entre otras cosas

> que es un átomo pequeño | junto al rey, no ha de ser dueño | de la luz que el sol le ha dado. (vv. 250-2)

Este retrato se produce inmerso en dos acciones de intriga amorosa y caballeresca: una que relaciona al rey con Serafina, el cual, siendo príncipe, solía galantearla, en palabras de Porcia, y otra en torno al matrimonio de la infanta Margarita, cuya mano pretenden «Dos príncipes soberanos» (v. 685). Además, la obra está llena de situaciones y referencias, como los propios personajes, a la realidad de su tiempo, reconocibles entonces para el espectador.

Dos acciones de intriga amorosa y caballeresca vertebran también la siguiente de las piezas del códice, *Bien haya quien a los suyos parece* (ff. 71*r*-137*r*), cuya composición fue terminada en 1622.[6] Artigas la incluyó en su edición del teatro quevedesco, pues fue habitual identificar este nombre como un pseudónimo de Quevedo. Sin embargo, es el nombre real de un autor toledano de origen milanés, cuya existencia ha sido demostrada.[7] La obra de Luis Cernúsculo de Guzmán cuenta los dobles amoríos del duque de Ferrara y su hermana Hipólita con Cintia y Enrico, hijos de Federico, un noble que había sido expulsado de la corte por el padre del duque. Se trata de una comedia llena de

> peripecias, duelos, intentos de suicidio para no perder el honor, equívocos y malentendidos, (Madroñal 1991, 190-1)

que concluyen con la resolución afortunada de los dos amoríos: el duque da a Cintia la mano y determina que Enrico se la dé a su hermana.

Sigue el fragmento inicial de la comedia *Pero Vázquez de Escamilla* (ff. 138*r*-148*r*), editada también por Arellano y García Valdés.[8] La única copia manuscrita que se conserva es la del manuscrito de la Menéndez Pelayo. El texto está constituido en su mayor parte

> por una jácara de estructura dialogada, propiamente dramática, cuyo núcleo es el relato que el jaque protagonista hace de su vida y milagros. (Arellano 1990, 13)

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6   La copia del manuscrito M-139 proporciona esta información: «Acabose en Toledo a 24 días del mes de abril de mil seiscientos y veinte y dos años. Don Luis Cernúsculo de Guzmán».

7   Sobre la existencia de Luis Cernúsculo de Guzmán, véase Madroñal 1991.

8   La editaron anteriormente Artigas (1927), Astrana (1952), Blecua (1981) y Arellano (1990).

Un grupo de bandidos está riñendo cuando oyen disparos. Sale del río el fugitivo contra el que se disparaba, con quien comienzan a pelear. Resulta ser el reconocido bandido Pero Vázquez de Escamilla. Se van todos juntos e interviene entonces don Pedro, que en lenguaje de galantería alaba la belleza de doña Ana. Esta lamenta a su pretendiente. Se caracteriza la pieza por la abundancia de juegos conceptistas arraigados en el léxico de germanías que predomina en el texto.

Este fragmento teatral de Quevedo, según estudió Plata (2017) podría haber formado parte de la comedia de Vélez de Guevara *El águila del agua*, en la que un grupo de delincuentes encabezado por Pero Vázquez aparece ayudando al héroe, Juan de Austria. Ambas obras comparten subtítulo, *Representación española*; al mismo tiempo, el fragmento quevedesco presenta varios elementos que aparecen también en el texto del ecijano. La investigación llevada a cabo por Plata permite proponer que Quevedo podría haber acordado con Vélez de Guevara escribir algunos de los *tableaux* que constituyen su comedia, de tal modo que el texto quevedesco sea no el primer acto de una comedia, sino

en realidad una serie de escenas independientes con las que pensaría [Quevedo] contribuir al texto de Vélez. (Plata 2017, 285)

Se dispone en último lugar, antes de que se dé inicio a la unidad poética, el *Fragmento que de la letra del autor estaba escrito en el reverso de una carta* (ff. 148*v*-149*r*), en el que se tratan burlescamente las consecuencias del matrimonio. Consiste en un diálogo entre don Juan y don Rodrigo, en el que debaten sobre la reciente condición de casado del segundo. Este, en tono pesaroso, explica que «la cosa más necia | de amor es la posesión» (vv. 24-5). Fue incluido por Artigas en su edición del teatro de Quevedo.

Las dos primeras comedias presentan una proximidad temática que no comparten con los siguientes fragmentos. Ambientadas ambas en Italia (en Nápoles la obra de Quevedo; en Ferrara la de Cernúsculo de Guzmán), las piezas comparten las situaciones de enredo amoroso, además de tener a la nobleza como protagonista. Aunque de distinto autor, la continuidad temática habría dado originalmente sentido a este conjunto. La foliación, aspecto que será visto más adelante, sustenta la hipótesis de la procedencia común e independiente respecto al resto de los textos del manuscrito de las dos comedias. Con la inserción de la jácara de *Pero Vázquez de Escamilla* se retoma la autoría quevedesca, a la par que se introduce el elemento burlesco que será constante en la sección poética. Se puede proponer que la jácara y el fragmento pudieron haber funcionado como nexo entre ambas secciones, dando sentido al conjunto facticio que es el manuscrito santanderino.

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A partir del folio 150*r* y hasta el final, el códice recoge poemas burlescos (ff. 150*r*-219*v*). De acuerdo con la foliación de esta parte podemos suponer su procedencia de un conjunto distinto al que pertenecieron las demás obras. Hemos tratado de identificar posibles subgrupos atendiendo especialmente a criterios temáticos, autoriales o formales. El resultado, no obstante, arroja poca luz sobre una posible agrupación. Reconocemos las secciones que conforman los seis epigramas iniciales, que, de acuerdo con el epígrafe que los precede, serían traducciones de epigramas del francés Rémy Belleau (ff. 150*r*-154*r*),[9] tres epitafios a bujarrones (ff. 154*v*-156*r*), la serie de poemas antigongorinos (ff. 166*r*-182*r*) y las traducciones de Marcial (ff. 197*r*-216*r*).

Las imitaciones de Marcial ocupan las páginas finales del manuscrito (ff. 197*r*-216*r*) y forman una colección diferenciada con respecto al resto de los poemas.[10] En efecto, aparecen separadas de los demás textos con una hoja en blanco entre medias (f. 196) e identificadas con el epígrafe «Traducciones de Marcial». Se trata de cincuenta y un poemas sin indicación del autor, lo que deja como única información al respecto la contenida en la portada del manuscrito. Son en su mayor parte décimas que tratan con frecuencia temas obscenos.[11] A partir de la imitación número XXXIII «No está en su casa Monzón», muchos epigramas latinos están simplemente indicados con las primeras palabras o con el número de epigrama y libro. En otros casos, como en el epigrama XLVIII «Si pides, dices que no», falta la indicación numérica del libro y el epigrama y aparecen solo las primeras palabras de la composición de Marcial. Es habitual en estos casos que haya un espacio en blanco, dejado con toda probabilidad para copiar el epigrama latino posteriormente. Ello nos lleva al planteamiento de dos posibles circunstancias: o bien durante el proceso de la copia el artífice no tenía delante el texto latino, es decir, el modelo de copia solo tenía el texto de Quevedo, o bien por razones de tiempo hubo de prescindir de la reproducción de las palabras de Marcial. Además

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[9] Medina (2004, 280) advierte tanto que «una reciente edición de Belleau Remy, no contiene que me conste tales epigramas a los retratos de Mezoloque; es verdad que podría haberse perdido la fuente exacta» como que, si bien los textos del francés contienen el uso de entradas ecfrásticas presentes en la serie del ms. M-139, «son tarjetas descriptivas de la época, por lo que la influencia francesa por el momento no trasciende a la conjetura». También oscurece esta influencia la nota en el manuscrito que indica que los nombres Belleau Rémy y Mezoloque son anagramas.

[10] Las dudas sobre la atribución quevedesca de las traducciones de Marcial han llevado a la propuesta de otras atribuciones. Plata (2000, 291) sugiere la posibilidad de que tras estas imitaciones se halle González de Salas, basándose en que en los «Preliminares e ilustraciones al Parnaso Español» nunca menciona las traducciones de Marcial, al tiempo que dice ser «autor de un Marcial redivivo».

[11] De hecho, existe censura en muchas de estas composiciones; remito a Galán Sánchez 1999 y 2016.

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del manuscrito M-139 de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo, se conserva otra copia de las traducciones en la Biblioteca March Servera en Palma: el manuscrito MA22-3-06 (*olim* 87/V3/11). Ambos códices, como estudió Plata (2000, 290-1), proceden de un arquetipo común. Las traducciones fueron editadas por Blecua en el cuarto volumen de la *Obra poética* de Quevedo. Con todo, no han sido todavía editadas tomando en consideración el manuscrito del que dio noticia Plata.

Después de las traducciones se disponen cinco poesías más –dos sonetos, unas redondillas y dos romances–, semejantes en su contenido al resto de composiciones (ff. 216*r*-219*v*). Su ubicación al final del manuscrito no parece haber sido así planificada, ya que este lugar parece haber sido reservado para las traducciones. Como ya se ha indicado, el hecho de que estas estén separadas de los poemas precedentes por una hoja en blanco sugiere que el copista las consideraba como una colección independiente del resto de poesías. Además, es la única sección, junto con los epigramas iniciales, encabezada con un epígrafe a modo de título. De haber sido las traducciones el cierre del conjunto poético, este habría comenzado y finalizado con la copia de epigramas. La ausencia del texto completo de los escritos de Marcial hacia el final de esta colección sugiere, como se apuntó con anterioridad, cierta celeridad repentina en la copia de los textos, celeridad que haría que este cuidado en la forma, en la confección de la copia, quedase relegado a un segundo plano. Asimismo, la temática afín de los cinco poemas finales con los demás textos del códice, invita a proponer que no habría justificación para que apareciesen aislados. Podría pensarse que su disposición al final del manuscrito obedece a la posterior noticia del copista de otros textos burlescos que encajaban con el talante de los versos recopilados, y por ello fueron añadidos al final de la copia, sin tiempo para insertarlos en otro lugar.

Hacia la mitad de los restantes setenta y tres poemas, entre el número 31, «Este cíclope, no sicilïano,», y el número 50, «Cierto poeta en forma peregrina» (ff. 166*r*-182*r*), ambos incluidos, se dispone una serie de veinte poemas que gozan claramente de entidad grupal. Se trata del subgrupo de poemas antigongorinos, integrado por dieciséis textos contra Góngora atribuidos a Quevedo, los cuales amalgaman la parodia literaria y la invectiva personal.[12] Completan el conjunto

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12   Son los textos que siguen: «Este cíclope, no sicilïano» (31), «Tantos años y tantos todo el día» (32), «Esta magra y famélica figura» (33), «Este que, en negra tumba, rodeado» (34), «Alguacil del Parnaso, Gongorilla» (35), «Socio, ¿otra vez? ¡Oh tú, que desbudelas» (36), «Verendo padre: a lástima movido» (37), «Sulquivagante pretensor de estolo» (38), «Ten vergüenza, purpúrate, don Luis» (39), «Quien quisiere ser Góngora en un día» (40), «¿Qué captas, noturnal, en tus canciones» (41), «Vuestros coplones, cordobés sonado» (44), «Yo te untaré mis versos con tocino» (45), «Poeta de *¡Oh, qué lindicos*» (47), «Ya que coplas componéis» (48) y «En lo sucio que has cantado» (49).

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cuatro composiciones en las que el cordobés hace escarnio del autor del *Buscón*.[13] Solo aparecen con atribución expresa a Quevedo el soneto «Yo te untaré mis versos con tocino» (45), encabezado con el epígrafe *Quevedo contra Góngora*, y aquellos rotulados como réplicas a los ataques gongorinos: «Vuestros coplones, cordobés sonado» (44), «Poeta de ¡*Oh, qué lindicos*,» (47), «Ya que coplas componéis» (48) y «En lo sucio que has cantado» (49). El hecho de que solo estas composiciones aparezcan con mención de la autoría no implica que los demás versos contra el cordobés no pertenezcan a la pluma de Quevedo. La rotulación explícita de los textos mencionados se justifica por el contexto de aparición en el manuscrito, pues están insertas entre textos del artífice de las *Soledades*; además, obedece al propósito de indicar su carácter de respuesta a ataques previos. Para el resto de poemas –no solo el grupo antigongorino, sino todos los contenidos en el códice– la única indicación que puede seguirse es la de la portada del manuscrito.

En el caso de los cinco textos que acabamos de señalar, junto al poema «¿Qué captas, noturnal, en tus canciones» (41), se conservan múltiples testimonios manuscritos,[14] mayoritariamente custodiados en la BNE, pero también en la Hispanic Society de Nueva York, entre otras. Por su parte, el poema «Quien quisiere ser Góngora en un día» (40), fue incluido en la *Aguja de navegar cultos*. Las composiciones «Socio, ¿otra vez? ¡Oh tú, que desbudelas» (36), «Verendo padre: a lástima movido» (37), «Sulquivagante pretensor de estolo» (38) y «Ten vergüenza, purpúrate, don Luis» (39), son transmitidos únicamente por el manuscrito santanderino. Las demás son transmitidas también por el manuscrito MA22-3-06 (*olim* 87/V3/11) de la Biblioteca de Bartolomé March Servera. Los dieciséis poemas que integran el grupo fueron escritos en un margen temporal amplio. El más temprano puede fecharse en 1603, año en el que los dos poetas coincidieron en la corte vallisoletana, y donde habría de presumiblemente producirse un primer enfrentamiento entre ambos. Se trata de las décimas «En lo sucio que has cantado».[15] Los versos más tardíos fueron escritos en 1625 o en años inmediatamente posteriores. Es el caso de la silva «Alguacil del Parnaso, Gongorilla».[16]

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13   Son las anteriormente citadas: «Con poca luz y menos disciplina,» (42), «¿Quién se podrá poner contigo en quintas» (43), «Anacreonte español, no hay quien os tope» (46) y «Cierto poeta en forma peregrina» (50).

14   La información relativa a los testimonios de las composiciones transmitidas por el manuscrito M-139 que damos en este estudio procede de Blecua (1969-81), en cuya actualización estamos trabajando.

15   Remito a las investigaciones llevadas a cabo por Conde y García (2011) y Conde (2021, 202-3).

16   La referencia a la supuesta compra de la casa en que vivía Góngora por parte de Quevedo, que tuvo lugar en 1625, establece la fecha de composición del texto en este año o en los posteriores (véase, entre otros, Blanco, Conde 2021, 657).

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Al inicio de la sección de poemas se dispone un conjunto que supone, según la rotulación, una serie de traducciones de epigramas del francés Rémy Belleau.[17] El primero, un soneto, se aparta en la forma de los cinco siguientes, escritos en silva métrica. Además, se trata de un epitafio epigramático,[18] mientras que los demás forman un conjunto homogéneo en forma y contenido de epigramas ecfrásticos, los cuales

> se presentan como supuestas inscripciones para colocar al lado de retratos pictóricos, a los cuales complementarían como contrapunto burlesco, desbaratando así la ilusión que la pintura se había esforzado en crear para ocultar una realidad repulsiva. (López Poza 2014, 330)

El repertorio de tipos satirizados lo conforman un pastelero sucio, un marido potencialmente cornudo, un viejo avariento y teñido, una dama venal y un tabernero sin honor (véase Medina 2004, 279; López Poza 2014, 330). El carácter ecfrástico viene dado por las expresiones deícticas, presentes en estos cinco textos, así como también en el soneto, que por lo general abren el epigrama.[19] De las cinco silvas se conservan dos testimonios: el manuscrito estudiado y el custodiado en la Biblioteca March. Por su parte, el soneto se copia en el manuscrito 3899 de la BNE y fue impreso en el *Parnaso español*. En cuanto a su cronología, Astrana Marín situó estos textos en su edición en torno a 1610.

El último grupo que se reconoce en la unidad poética se dispone inmediatamente después de los epigramas referidos. Se trata de un conjunto compuesto por tres epitafios dedicados a *A un italiano llamado Julio*, *A un ermitaño mulato* y *A un bujarrón*,[20] aunque todos podrían ir precedidos por este último epígrafe, pues se trata de tres poemas contra sodomitas. Además de la figura satirizada, los tres textos comparten otros aspectos que les confieren el carácter unitario, grupal. En todos los poemas está presente la advertencia a todo aquel que pasee por las tumbas de Julio el italiano y miser de la Florida, así como por la ermita del mulato, para que de esta forma eviten ser

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17 Son los que siguen: «Esta cantina revestida en faz» (1), «Este que, cejijunto y barbinegro» (2), «Este, cuya caraza mesurada» (3), «Este que veis leonado de cabeza» (4), «Esta que está debajo de cortina» (5) y «Este que veis hinchado como cuero» (6).

18 López Poza 2008, 832.

19 La deíxis es frecuente en la obra epigramática de Quevedo, tanto en epitafios como en epigramas ecfrásticos sobre obras de arte. En estos últimos aparecen, con frecuencia, *verba videndi* y otros recursos retóricos que facilitan la evidentia (López Poza 2014, 333).

20 «Yace en aqueste llano» (7), «¿Ermitaño tú? ¡El mulato» (8) y «Aquí yace miser de la Florida» (9).

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sodomizados por los protagonistas de las composiciones. Los poemas «Yace en aqueste llano» y «Aquí yace miser de la Florida» comparten, asimismo, la tipificación de un italiano como bujarrón.[21] La tradición textual de los epitafios *A un ermitaño mulato* y *A un bujarrón* se limita al manuscrito M-139 y al códice de Palma, mientras que el tercero de los poemas tiene, además de estos, tres testimonios más.[22]

Las figuras satirizadas en estos grupos protagonizan el grueso de las burlas proferidas en los poemas del manuscrito M-139.[23] La sátira contra mujeres («Peréceme que van las cardenillas» (14), «La mayor puta de las dos Castillas» (21)), contra el matrimonio y los cornudos («Cuernos hay para todos, sor Corbera» (12), «Cuando tu madre te parió cornudo» (52)) o contra la avaricia («En aqueste enterramiento» (29)) son algunos de los temas recurrentes a lo largo del códice. No se disponen, sin embargo, de manera que hayamos podido identificar subgrupos temáticos o formales, como sí ocurría con los textos anteriormente señalados.

4 Composición material

El manuscrito M-139 está elaborado en papel de tipo occidental o italiano, es decir, con filigrana. De color crema, presenta algunas manchas y otras deturpaciones en los bordes del papel. En las hojas más externas se aprecian manchas de humedad por lo general ausentes en el resto del códice, excepto en los bordes de algunos folios. También hay algunas manchas debido a la oxidación, como en los folios 164 y 203; en el primero el papel llegó incluso a agujerearse. Salvo estos deterioros, el códice presenta buen aspecto, lo que sugiere, pues, un papel de buena calidad.

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21 «Los italianos tenían el estereotipo de afeminados y por lo tanto, según la semiótica de aquellos tiempos, se les consideraba homosexuales» (Martín 2008, 110). En el segundo de los poemas «la fórmula que iguala italiano con homosexual aparece una vez más con el italianismo "Misser" en el primer verso» (113). Para el epitafio *A un italiano llamado Julio* es necesario remitir, además, al estudio que le dedica Ponce Cárdenas (2022), en el que se detiene, entre otros aspectos, en el contexto histórico y cultural de creación del poema.

22 Son los manuscritos 3795 y 3920 de la BNE y el número CCXVIII de la Hispanic Society de Nueva York.

23 En efecto, señala Medina (2004, 279) que se trata de tipos «en principio familiares al universo satírico quevediano y estas pueden ser causas lógicas de la predicción crítica para la autoría».

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5   Marcas del papel

Por norma general, se identifican siete corondeles por página, a una
distancia que oscila entre los 25-30 mm. El manuscrito presenta al
inicio y al final una serie de hojas en blanco: seis en la parte frontal
(incluida la portada), cuatro en la trasera. La portada se correspon-
de con la sexta de estas hojas. Se trata de una orla impresa, dentro
de la cual el copista rotula el manuscrito, que se ajusta a los diseños
con estructuras arquitectónicas, las cuales

> habían predominado en las portadas de los libros españoles en la
> primera mitad del siglo [XVII]. (Calvo Portela 2021, 60)

Los folios de los que venimos hablando, que conforman sendos cua-
dernos, suponen otro tipo de papel. Se identifican doce corondeles en
cada folio, a una distancia de entre 17 y 19 mm. También las filigra-
nas son distintas. La filigrana de las seis hojas iniciales no se repite
en ninguna otra. Consiste en un racimo de uvas unidas por la parte
superior a unas iniciales y se sitúa entre el cuarto y el quinto coron-
del, empezando desde arriba; cada una de las partes visibles de la
filigrana tiene una medida en torno a los 15 × 15 mm. No se consi-
guen leer correctamente las iniciales, aunque parece tratarse de una
«I» y una «J» con doble trazo. Hemos podido consultar los catálogos
de Briquet y Heawood, pero no hemos hallado la marca de nuestro
manuscrito. En el resto de los folios se reconocen, como ya estudió
Plata,[24] el escudo de armas de Génova (escudo ovalado sujetado por
dos grifos y apoyado en dos círculos), en notable menor proporción,
y un orbe con una media luna inserta, rematado con una cruz, so-
bre dos círculos, algunos de ellos con iniciales en el interior. Se tra-
ta de marcas muy frecuentes en documentos españoles datados en-
tre 1675 y 1750. Asimismo, se observan dos contramarcas distintas:
una suerte de A en posición horizontal y una marca similar a un se-
micírculo con marcas en los extremos.

   El hecho de que estas hojas que sirven de protección estén forma-
das por otro papel sugiere dos momentos en la confección del códice,
lo cual concuerda con su carácter de volumen facticio. Puede soste-
nerse que las distintas obras hayan sido, no obstante su procedencia
de distintos conjuntos, copiadas en el mismo taller y en un mo-
mento temporal próximo. La encuadernación del conjunto tal y como
lo conocemos se habría hecho en un momento posterior, implicando
un cambio en el papel.

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[24] Véase Plata Parga 1997, 57, 58-61 y «Apéndice de filigranas»; 2000, 289.

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6 Sistemas de ordenación

El manuscrito M-139 tiene un sistema de ordenación basado en reclamos, que aparecen en el margen inferior, en el lado derecho. Las comedias *Cómo ha de ser el privado* y *Bien haya quien a los suyos parece* presentan reclamos en todas las hojas; además, todos los finales de página aparecen con una línea horizontal situada bajo el texto. Por esta razón, creemos que hay que reparar en la ausencia tanto de este trazo como del reclamo al final de la segunda de las piezas teatrales: la ausencia del reclamo obedecería a que esta hoja habría de ser la última del conjunto copiado.

Además del sistema de reclamos, los folios están numerados. Hasta el folio 137, el último de la comedia de Luis Cernúsculo de Guzmán, la numeración está hecha por una única mano, con una tinta similar, pero ligeramente más clara que la usada en la copia del texto. Desde el folio 138 hasta el final una segunda mano, que emplea como útil de escritura el lápiz, retoma esta numeración. A partir del folio 150 esta foliación convive con una tercera, hecha con la misma tinta que la copia del manuscrito. Comparando esta numeración con los escasos, pero de valiosa ayuda, números que aparecen dentro de los textos, se concluye que es la mano del copista. Por otra parte, la confrontación de esta foliación y la primera muestra que esta fue hecha por una mano diferente.

Las tres manos de la paginación del códice proporcionan cierta información sobre la conformación del manuscrito. La individualidad de la que habíamos establecido como una de las grandes partes de la macroestructura del libro, la sección poética, parte de su propia confección, pues formó originalmente un conjunto independiente por sí misma. La primera hoja de esta sección tiene más manchas de humedad que el resto, en línea con el hecho de que esta hubiese sido la página inicial de una serie de cuadernos manuscritos. Tanto la foliación propia de las dos primeras comedias como la ausencia de reclamo al final de la segunda confirman que la procedencia de dichas piezas es independiente de las demás partes del manuscrito. La propuesta de que ambas obras fueron encuadernadas juntas por razón de su contenido se sostiene al constatar su procedencia única. De esta manera se justificaría la inclusión de *Bien haya quien a los suyos parece* en un códice que, según la portada, fue confeccionado para recopilar obras de Francisco de Quevedo.

No hay sistemas de ordenación de los cuadernos en este manuscrito.[25] Ello, unido a que por el tipo de encuadernación es muy difícil hallar los centros de los cuadernos, complica notablemente la labor de

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25 Al menos, no queda rastro de ellos. No puede descartarse la posibilidad de que hayan desaparecido bajo la acción de las cuchillas que cortaron el papel en el momento

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reconstrucción de los cuadernos que conforman la arquitectura del libro. No obstante, los reclamos del primer conjunto permiten comprobar que no se han perdido hojas en estos cuadernos. En el tercero de los grupos constatamos que no faltan folios gracias a su numeración.

7 Composición de la página

El tamaño de los folios presenta, como es esperable, cierta irregularidad, dada la deturpación de los bordes del papel.[26] La medida más habitual es de 217 × 150 mm; es decir, el manuscrito está conformado por bifolios de 434 × 300 mm. El papel está plegado en formato *in quarto*, como muestra la posición horizontal de los corondeles. Las páginas cuentan con una caja de escritura de 170 × 95 mm de media. Las medidas más frecuentes de los márgenes son 40 mm el exterior, 10 mm el interior, 20 mm el superior y 30 mm el inferior.

8 Encuadernación

El manuscrito M-139 está encuadernado en pergamino, con hojas de guarda de color azul, las cuales tiene pegadas en el verso una hoja de color blanco. La encuadernación carece de tinte, con el color del pergamino ligeramente oscurecido por causa de factores externos. Se trata de tapas rígidas, aunque las esquinas están contraídas hacia el exterior. Las dimensiones de las tapas son las que siguen: 226 × 160 mm; el grosor del libro en el lomo es de 33 mm. La encuadernación del códice está apenas decorada; solamente el lomo presenta seis ribetes muy finos de color dorado, así como el tejuelo, con la información que quedó ya señalada. Es de color negro, con dos ribetes en los bordes horizontales de color dorado, mismo color utilizado en el rótulo. En algunas páginas –el centro de algunos de los cuadernos del manuscrito– se ve el cosido de la encuadernación. También se ve el cosido de la tapa trasera a los cuadernos, tapa en la que la hoja de guarda aparece más deteriorada. A partir del poco lujo y ornamentación de la encuadernación podemos conocer que el manuscrito se destinaba a un uso ordinario y, seguramente, personal. Hecho que encaja con el perfil del bibliófilo colector del códice (el canónigo sevillano Ambrosio de la Cuesta Saavedra), que tendría el objetivo de guardar para sí una copia de obras varias e inéditas a las cuales tuvo acceso.

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de su encuadernación, aunque sorprende que no aparezcan en ningún cuaderno, sobre todo, teniendo en cuenta la procedencia de los cuadernos de conjuntos diversos.

26 Véase, por ejemplo, el folio 13.

9   **Análisis paleográfico**

El manuscrito está copiado por una única mano,[27] excepto la foliación del primer conjunto y la numeración en lápiz. La letra del copista, apuntan Pérez Cuenca (2015, 67) y Conde (2019, 272), es caligráfica cursiva y muy cuidada, de una fase tardía del siglo XVII. Señalamos algunos de los rasgos más característicos de la letra del manuscrito. Aparecen simultáneamente la *d* minúscula y la uncial,[28] si bien predomina la primera. Son habituales las ligaduras internas, aunque no así las ligaduras entre palabras. Los caídos de algunas letras se ligan sistemáticamente: es el caso de la *q* y la *j*; otras, como la *p*, no se ligan nunca. Es habitual que las *s* en posición final de palabra sobrepasen la línea inferior del renglón.

Hay varias clases de marcas y anotaciones. Algunas están hechas con lápiz, probablemente obra de la misma mano que numeró el libro desde *Pero Vázquez de Escamilla*. Se trata de algún subrayado, alguna cruz al lado de los textos (por ejemplo, f. 157*v*) e incluso alguna pequeña anotación (f. 178*r*). Al margen de estas, hay anotaciones hechas con dos tintas rojas diferentes –y por sendas manos–. Hay una tinta roja, más viva, con la que se corresponden la mayoría de notas; la letra de estas es la misma que la del resto del manuscrito. También se corresponden con esta mano las iniciales de algunos epígrafes, la portada, algunos subrayados, marcas para separar textos, etc. La otra tinta roja, de color más apagado, presenta un trazo más grueso. Son obra de esta mano algunas marcas que preceden epígrafes o algunos subrayados. En el folio 150*r* se pueden ver trazos de las dos manos. Con esta segunda mano se corresponden «aquellas NB tan características de don B. J. Gallardo» (Blecua 1981, en Arellano 1990, 13). Si esta anotación fue hecha por Gallardo, entonces la nota «Son anagramas los nombres» (f. 150*r*) no puede ser obra suya, como generalmente se ha señalado, sino que habría de ser del copista del libro.

En el manuscrito aparecen elementos paratextuales, tales como las notas al término de cada comedia, indicando su final. La indicación al final de *Bien haya quien a los suyos parece* recoge el lugar y la fecha de redacción; por su parte, el comentario al final de la jácara de *Pero Vázquez de Escamilla* aclara que el poseedor del original del texto es

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27   Conde (2019, 271) se hace eco de que la letra de la portada es la misma que presentan los poemas antigongorinos, y también el índice de contenidos del ms. 3906 de la BNE, copiado por Cuesta Saavedra; de modo que, si el canónigo sevillano es el artífice de la portada, también sería el copista de las invectivas contra Góngora y de todo el códice. Teniendo en cuenta las fechas entre las cuales discurre la vida de don Ambrosio (1653-1707) se acota la datación del códice que sugieren las filigranas identificadas por Plata (2000), esto es, el período comprendido entre 1675 y 1750: el códice habría sido configurado entre los años 1675 y 1707.

28   Remito a Ruiz Albi 2016.

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don Diego de Arroyo y Figueroa. En los folios 168*r*-170*v* hay algunos comentarios al margen que aportan información sobre la procedencia de determinados versos de las *Soledades* y del *Polifemo*. En el libro también identificamos procedimientos para establecer divisiones internas en la obra, como líneas de separación y garabatos entre los textos, a veces con tinta roja, aunque no siempre. Del mismo modo, se observa la señalización de la estructura conceptual del texto a través de un sistema jerárquico que se basa en el módulo y tipo de los caracteres. Está presente en las piezas teatrales, en las que los títulos de las mismas se distinguen con mayúsculas, y la indicación de los actos de cada comedia copiando en color rojo las iniciales de los epígrafes.

10 Conclusiones

Pese a las previas descripciones del manuscrito M-139, volver sobre su estudio codicológico ayuda a identificar nuevos datos sobre él y, de este modo, contribuye a acercarse a desvelar un poco más las incógnitas que sobre él aún se ciernen. Se ha identificado una nueva filigrana, presente en las hojas previas a la copia del texto, de la cual, que nos conste, no se había dado noticia. Con todo, no se han podido identificar las iniciales que coronan el racimo de uvas. Cabe indagar en su procedencia y en su presencia en otros documentos, de tal manera que se cruce esta información con la referida a las demás filigranas y así acotar las fechas de copia del códice que, en efecto, pertenece al último cuarto del siglo XVII. Otra procedencia que convendría rastrear es la del impreso de la portada. Se ha ahondado en las distintas manos que intervienen en el manuscrito, identificándose tres en la foliación y tres en las anotaciones hechas a lo largo del manuscrito. Probablemente la mano que sigue la numeración de las hojas a lápiz y la que hace las notas con este mismo útil de escritura sea la misma. Las anotaciones en tinta roja se corresponden con dos manos diferentes, como muestra el hecho de que se trate de dos tintas y útiles de escritura diferentes. De modo que, a diferencia de lo que se había podido leer hasta el momento, no todos estos apuntes son obra de Gallardo, sino que algunos, dada la semejanza de la letra, parecen ser obra del copista del manuscrito.

El estudio material y del contenido del manuscrito constata, desde ambos planos, la formación de este códice facticio a partir de la conjunción de tres grandes grupos de textos. Por una parte se sitúan las dos comedias de intriga caballeresca y amorosa, de Quevedo y Luis Cernúsculo de Guzmán, que de acuerdo con la foliación formaron un grupo único inicialmente, enlazadas por la continuidad temática que presentan. En los dos aparece señalado el autor de los textos. El segundo grupo lo conforman los dos fragmentos teatrales inacabados

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de carácter burlesco, en los cuales también se señala el autor.[29] El último se corresponde con los poemas del manuscrito, que aparecen sin indicación del artífice.[30] Solo la portada, hecha probablemente en un momento distinto que la copia de los textos, de acuerdo con las diferencias en el papel, aporta información a este respecto.

El primer y segundo grupo comparten el género teatral; el segundo y el tercero, la temática burlesca. Sin embargo, las piezas de los tres grupos de papeles no presentan más hilo conductor entre ellas que la autoría quevedesca, la que debió de ser la razón para encuadernar juntos estos conjuntos de papeles –al menos así lo fue, según indica la portada del códice–. Puede parecer, no obstante, un criterio de cohesión débil, ya que la segunda de las comedias que encontramos en el manuscrito no es obra de Quevedo. Esta excepción, sin embargo, es fácilmente explicable, pues el estudio material evidencia que esta obra estaba copiada en los mismos cuadernos que la quevedesca *Cómo ha de ser el privado*, por lo que no se habría podido prescindir de ella (y dado que la obra viene con indicación explícita de la autoría, no habría sido un problema para el colector que esta información contradijese a la de la portada del volumen).

Una vez está justificado por qué aparece una comedia que no es de Quevedo, toca preguntarse qué sucede con la poesía, carente de más indicación de la autoría que la que aparece en portada. El colector encuaderna estos tres conjuntos, como hemos dicho, para formar un volumen que reúna obras de Quevedo, por lo que es plausible pensar que él sí tiene la información de que los poemas pertenecen a nuestro autor en el momento en el que confecciona el códice; de otra manera, parece poco probable que incluya en un libro cuyo motivo de cohesión es la autoría 129 poemas sin tener la información de que Quevedo los escribió (la información podría ser errónea, pero habría de disponer de ella). Por lo tanto, cuando confecciona la portada lo hace también incluyendo bajo la autoría de Quevedo el conjunto de poemas.

Esto tiene implicaciones respecto a los argumentos que se han esgrimido, en particular, en contra de la autoría quevedesca de las sátiras antigongorinas. En su momento se dijo que la mayor parte eran

> conocidas por un único testimonio, donde para colmo no están atribuidas. (Paz 1999, 37)

El hallazgo de Plata (2000) de un segundo códice que contiene estas sátiras (además de muchos otros poemas del códice santanderino)

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29 La indicación del autor en el segundo fragmento se limita a la fórmula «del autor», que, se supone, retoma el nombre antes señalado.

30 A excepción de los cuatro poemas de Góngora y los textos de Quevedo que se intercalan, para marcar la diferencia de autoría.

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añadía ya peso a la autoría quevedesca, desmontando en parte este argumento: de las dieciséis sátiras que transmite el manuscrito de la Menéndez Pelayo, doce están copiadas en varios testimonios; solo cuatro están únicamente en el códice que editamos. Con lo cual, como se argumentaba, ya no son conocidas por un único testimonio. Ahora, el estudio codicológico permitiría también rebatir la otra parte de este argumento, pues podríamos afirmar que los poemas sí están atribuidos, ya que, de acuerdo con lo que sabemos sobre la configuración del manuscrito, es coherente suponer que la información de la portada haya de aplicarse al conjunto de los poemas del códice. Y lo mismo que puede aplicarse a las sátiras antigongorinas habría de hacerse extensible al resto de textos. Por ello, constatamos cómo el estudio de la historia externa del manuscrito supone avanzar hacia la resolución de los interrogantes que suscita. Con todo, hay que señalar que en tanto que el manuscrito no es autógrafo, las dudas sobre la autoría de los textos son prácticamente irresolubles, pero el estudio material contribuye a argumentar favorablemente la atribución quevedesca de unos poemas que no han sido atribuidos a ningún otro autor.

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Los retratos políticos de los *Grandes Anales de quince días* de Quevedo

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Abstract   This article examines the literary portraits of key political figures, including three Spanish kings – Philip II, Philip III, and Philip IV – and their prime ministers, the Duke of Lerma, the Duke of Uceda, and Friar Luis de Aliaga, as presented by Quevedo at the conclusion of *Grandes anales de quince días*. The study focuses on both aesthetic and iconographic perspectives, drawing connections between Quevedo's literary depictions and the known painted portraits of these individuals. Many of these artworks can be viewed in the Museo del Prado, which houses a significant portion of the Royal Collection – paintings that Quevedo likely had access to. The primary objective of this article is to explore the affinities between Quevedo's literary descriptions and the visual representations of these figures in the corresponding portraits.

Keywords   Quevedo. Painting. Politics. Iconography. Aesthetics.

Sumario   1 Introducción. – 2 Felipe II. – 3 Felipe III. – 4 Felipe IV. – 5 Duque de Lerma. – 6 Duque de Uceda. – 7 Fray Luis de Aliaga. – 8 Conclusión.

1 Introducción

Las técnicas descriptivas de Quevedo han sido objeto de numerosos estudios, casi todos de orden retórico, estilístico o, en líneas generales, formalista, y en su mayor parte en poesía y textos poéticos, donde las audacias conceptistas han podido suscitar mayor interés, siempre en busca de un *usus scribendi* quevediano. Menos estudiadas han sido las etopeyas en textos graves, como las de algunos de los personajes centrales que aparecen descritos al final del texto de los *Grandes Anales de quince días*: fueron atendidas más como documentos históricos, empleadas para el acompañamiento del relato de los hechos que como objetos de estudio literario. Este es ahora el objetivo de este trabajo.

Quevedo describió, en formato híbrido de *relación* e historia, en estos *Grandes Anales de quince días* la muerte de Felipe III y la sucesión de Felipe IV. Contó con todo detalle el final de un reinado y la paulatina sustitución de los personajes del ambiente cortesano con la llegada del nuevo monarca. Se entretuvo en narrar los pormenores de esta transición política, con especial atención a las caídas en desgracia de los principales consejeros de Felipe III y la progresiva ascensión del entorno del nuevo y jovencísimo rey Felipe IV. Los *Grandes Anales* ofrecen una singular y compleja historia textual. Son numerosas las versiones y copias manuscritas del texto, prueba no siempre concluyente de su difusión considerable. No se conoció impresión hasta la del *Semanario Erudito* (1787), que reprodujo una de las versiones manuscritas que la tradición posterior consideró muy estragada. Hay que esperar a la edición de Aureliano Fernández Guerra (Quevedo 1852) para encontrar una edición solvente de este texto. La edición moderna de Victoriano Roncero (Quevedo 2005a) intenta poner orden en la complicada maraña de testimonios (con interpolaciones y eliminaciones), con la aceptación de una versión intermedia (en la que elimina una interesante semblanza de Juan de Espina) como la óptima.[1] No es objeto de mi estudio tal historia, pero conviene tenerla en consideración para comprender la naturaleza de los retratos.

Roncero especula con varias fases de redacción: una temprana, con la inmediatez de los hechos; una segunda, con precisiones ulteriores y adiciones como las de estas semblanzas; y una tercera, resultado de una poda y disminución de los entusiasmos que aparecían en las primeras versiones sobre el nuevo rey y sobre el privado Olivares que se afianza a su lado. Todas estas observaciones son pertinentes para comprender el sentido de estos retratos, compuestos con el propósito de afinar y enmarcar su relato inmediato de los hechos y construidos bajo la premisa expuesta por el propio Quevedo

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[1] Seguiré esta edición en lo sucesivo para las citas.

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en su prólogo: «Yo escribo lo que vi y doy a leer mis ojos, no mis oídos. Con intención desinteresada y con ánimo libre me hallé presente a lo que escribo con más recato que ambición» (59). El lema de Tácito del *sine ira et studio* parece esconderse tras estas palabras proemiales, dictadas por la *captatio benevolentiae*, pero el texto no prescinde de una inequívoca mirada crítica.

La huella del modelo de Tácito en este texto es indudable: Villalba Álvarez (2004) explica con detalle las marcas del historiador romano: en el mismo título, en la concepción de la historia como *magistra vitae*, en la percepción de la veracidad del narrador y en algunos rasgos que él denomina de estilo. Entre estos últimos señala la tendencia al retrato psicológico de los protagonistas de la historia, ejemplificada de forma muy evidente en el colofón de *Grandes Anales de quince días*, en el que tradición historiográfica latina y, en concreto, la obra magna de Tácito, ejercen su influencia. La impronta tácitea no es ajena a la especial vinculación de Quevedo con el entorno de Justo Lipsio y de los humanistas neoestoicos en los Países Bajos, que promovió en Europa una auténtica recuperación de los textos de Tácito no solo bajo la consideración de historiador sino como paradigmáticos exponentes de un pensamiento político presentado como síntesis del neoestoicismo filosófico.

Aparte de esta ascendencia romana, los estudios recientes sobre los *Grandes Anales* se han ocupado de cuestiones no menores, como la determinación del género,[2] siempre en relación con su naturaleza esquiva de documento fiable. La vieja polémica entre *poesía* e *historia* cobra con este texto quevediano una importancia capital como evidencia de los límites inaprensibles de ambas categorías. Se calibra con este texto el valor referencial de las palabras de Quevedo, ajustadas al género de las relaciones históricas, si bien con el mantenimiento de ciertas cautelas condicionadas tal vez por la imponente voluntad de estilo del autor. Se aportan en ocasiones fuentes de información que pudo haber seleccionado Quevedo, pero, en general, se atiende a la posición privilegiada del poeta en el contexto cortesano para justificar el interés de su relato. En cualquier caso, sean anales a la zaga de Tácito, sean relaciones (como el propio Quevedo manifiesta) periodísticas, el caso es que *Grandes Anales* recrea un episodio capital en la vida de los Austrias y de ahí procede el interés de la historiografía por apropiárselo como base documental.

Las semblanzas incluidas como *dramatis personae* no figuraban, según Roncero, en sus primeras versiones: el editor moderno del texto especula con que estos retratos debieron de ser añadidos en una

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2 Véase, por ejemplo, el reciente trabajo de García Pinacho (2011) en el que vincula el texto quevediano a la producción numerosa de relaciones históricas de naturaleza periodística.

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redacción intermedia, tal vez escrita ya dos o tres años de la llegada al trono de Felipe III. Los retratos son, en primer lugar, de los reyes Felipe II, Felipe III y Felipe IV; y, en segundo lugar, de los ministros y consejeros más destacados: el duque de Lerma, el duque de Uceda y el fraile Luis de Aliaga, confesor primero del duque de Lerma y luego confesor real. El objetivo de Quevedo aparece explícito justo antes de proceder a la descripción de tales figuras: «Por informar mejor la noticia apartada, mirad con atención en mis palabras a los que han intervenido en mis relaciones y tened sus cuerpos por señas de sus almas» (110). Esta última frase, que suena a tópico, permite enlazar la descripción física de los distintos personajes con la etopeya de alcance psicológico y, sobre todo, de dimensión política.

2 Felipe II

El primero de los retratos es el de Felipe II. Por edad, Francisco de Quevedo pudo haberlo conocido, dada su proximidad al ambiente del Alcázar, en los últimos años de su vida: Felipe II tiene 53 años cuando nace Quevedo y muere cuando Quevedo cumple los 18. Sin embargo, el retrato físico que nos ofrece parece obedecer más a una écfrasis de alguna pintura de la época que a una pintura al natural del monarca:

> fue de mediana estatura, bien proporcionado, el rostro hermosamente grave, a quien la majestad armaba de respeto; facciones elocuentes, pues con el mirar decretó muchas veces castigos, reprendiendo con la vista, porque era su semblante ejecutivo en advertir descuidos; supo entretener la mocedad, supo disimular la vejez. (Quevedo 2005a, 110)

Los cuadros que pudo haber tenido delante Quevedo son varios: la iconografía de Felipe II es relativamente amplia y las paredes del Alcázar (y las del Escorial), que Quevedo tuvo que conocer con toda seguridad, vieron colgados esos retratos. De joven hay tres cuadros que bien pueden ser fuente de inspiración para ese «rostro hermosamente grave» que recuerda Quevedo treinta y tres años después de su muerte. Todos de Tiziano: en uno de ellos, el monarca, que mira hacia el espectador, lleva armadura y posa con la mano en una mesa; se conservan dos versiones, una en Roma, en la Galería Corsini, y otra en el Museo del Prado. En el otro de Tiziano, que se conserva en el Museo di Capodimonte en Nápoles, procedente de la colección Farnese, el rey, figurado de costado, mira al horizonte, a la izquierda del cuadro, vestido con ropas talares de cortesano **[fig. 1]**. El último de los modelos de Tiziano se conserva en dos copias, probablemente de su mismo taller, en Génova y en el Museo del Prado. En ellas **[fig. 2]**, Felipe II mira a un lado indeterminado de la izquierda del cuadro, posa una

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mano en una mesa cubierta de un damasco y la otra se apoya en una espada, a pesar de que el ropaje es de faena cortesana. Al parecer, los cuadros fueron encargos para enviar a las cortes europeas y, en concreto, a la inglesa para negociar el matrimonio con María Tudor.

Figura 1   Ticiano (taller), *Retrato de Felipe II*. 1549-50. Óleo sobre lienzo, 103 × 82 cm. Museo del Prado de Madrid

Adrián J. Sáez (2015; 2021, 169-93), a propósito de sendas composiciones de Aretino y Quevedo sobre Felipe II, recuerda el impacto extraordinario del pintor de Cadore entre los poetas de ese siglo. La correspondencia entre el pintor y Piero Aretino o las consideraciones de un amigo común como Ludovico Dolce en su *Dialogo della pittura* (cuando

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habla de la «eroica maestà» del Ticiano) permiten establecer el fundamento teórico de las relaciones *ut pictura poësis* y, por tanto, la vinculación entre *imitatio* y representación ideal. Sáez (2015, 133-4) reproduce una de las *Lettere* de Aretino «Al principe di Spagna» (*Lettere*, V, nr. 185, febrero de 1548), en la que se incluye un poema de sumo interés para ponderar el significado del término *majestad* que aparece en el retrato de Quevedo:

> Quello intento di magno e di sincero
> che al gran Filippo in l'aere sacro splende,
> mentre il valore il di lui petto accende
> col fasto de la gloria e de lo impero;
> quel non so che, terribilmente altero,
> che natura, che'l fa, sol vede e intende
> nel guardo ch'egli affige, u' si comprende
> il mondo esser minor del suo pensiero.
> Quel proprio in carne di color vitale
> Tiziano esprime, e du' l'essempio move,
> in gesto bel di maestà reale,
> pare il ciel, con maraviglie nove,
> gli sparga intorno ogni poter fatale,
> come a nato e di Cesare e di Giove.

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Interesa en este aspecto el verso undécimo, «in gesto bel di maestà reale», que coincide en esencia, pero también en la fórmula con la expresión quevediana «Hermosamente grave, a quien la majestad armaba de respeto». Fernando Checa Cremades (1989), que ha estudiado en varios artículos el retrato de la casa de los Austrias desde una perspectiva iconográfica, formal y funcional, ha intentado descifrar el sentido de la palabra *majestad* aplicada a los cuadros. El auxilio de Aretino y de Dolce permite comprenderlo: Dolce, al explicar los cuadros de Tiziano, trata de asociar ciertas formas del color en el rostro del retratado con ese concepto, aunque son los estudios iconográficos quienes más han precisado el sentido hermenéutico del mismo. Checa habla de hieratismo, de distancia, de frialdad, incluso de ausencia de objetos representados; también aduce una línea ideológica que comienza con los cuadros a Carlos V y que deben reproducir en sus sucesores: establece como una marca dinástica a partir de ese rasgo de la majestad, identificable con una apariencia rotunda de impasibilidad.

Antonio Sánchez Coello **[fig. 3]**, Antonio Moro **[fig. 4]** y, sobre todo, Sofonisba Anguissola **[fig. 5]**, en años posteriores, con un Felipe II maduro, o de Juan Pantoja de la Cruz en la Biblioteca de El Escorial **[fig. 6]**, con un anciano monarca, intentan dar continuidad al modelo de Tiziano con la agudización de alguno de los rasgos esenciales. El de Anguissola además añade elementos de notorio interés, que el inventario del Real Alcázar de Madrid, de 1636 (que señala que se halla en una pieza del pasadizo que conduce a la cámara del rey) detalla: «de medio cuerpo arriba del Señor Rei Phelipe segundo bestido de negro con un rosario en la mano y la gorra puesta y capa». En la ficha técnica del Museo del Prado, de donde obtengo tales datos, también se puede leer:

> la radiografía de la pintura nos muestra que, inicialmente, el rey se cubría con un voluminoso bohemio y la mano derecha sobre el pecho, señalando al Toisón. La intervención posterior en la pintura no representó cambio alguno en cuanto a la cabeza del Rey, pues sin duda éste quedó satisfecho por la juventud y serena distancia con que fue pintado en 1565. La artista enmendó, sin embargo, detalles de la vestimenta, sustituyendo el bohemio por una ligera capa de seda negra que hace más grácil la figura. Al tiempo, desplazó la mano derecha sobre el brazo de un frailero, un sencillo pero elocuente gesto para el espectador de la época, que evocaba de inmediato la *auctoritas regia*, una percepción que se refuerza con la espada que ciñe el monarca.[3]

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3 https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/felipe-ii/7d7280d6-5603-488a-8521-933acc357d7a.

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La lectura de los trabajos sobre este asunto conduce a un bucle metodológico, ya que lo majestuoso o lo digno de majestad se ejemplifica con rasgos en el rostro, de severidad y ausencia de expresividad definida, que al mismo tiempo fueron asumidos como modos visibles para representar la majestad real. Es muy posible que a partir de esta época, con Tiziano como principal promotor, se estableciera o instituyera una convención iconográfica para que rostro severo e impasible equivaliese a ese concepto entre moral y político de la majestad de los monarcas. Algunos objetos pueden ofrecer además claves simbólicas, pero la mirada o la posición del rostro otorga esa categoría política y estética.

Quevedo, en esta semblanza, sigue esa vía del retrato real, si bien se sirve de la intermediación pictórica para realizarla. Pero va un paso más allá, porque señala que solo con el gesto, con la mirada, sin el recurso de la palabra, el rey Felipe II es capaz de sancionar. El rostro del monarca habla: «facciones elocuentes» escribe Quevedo, en una versión específica del *topos* de los tratados pictóricos de la

pintura como *muta eloquentia*. En este caso lo aplica a la representación política, de tal manera que la imagen del rey habla por sí sola: Felipe II ejerce el poder con su sola presencia. Quevedo certifica (desde la posición del espectador) el éxito de la estrategia retórica de conformar la figura del monarca, sin acompañamiento de palabras, como un mensaje político. Se hace innecesario el recurso a la escritura, al imperio oficial de la ley escrita, ya que la misma compostura del soberano ejecuta todo un programa de gobierno. En cierto modo, Quevedo otorga a lo visual un poder superior a los términos de la burocracia o del corpus jurídico o político de un reino. No es extraño, pues, que la semblanza de Felipe II sea más écfrasis solemne de un príncipe que adecuada mímesis de su cuerpo. No interesa tanto la similitud del retrato con el rey como la capacidad de representación de las acciones de gobierno a través de los gestos y ademanes del rostro.

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3 Felipe III

El segundo retrato es el de Felipe III:

> fue de mediana estatura, fuerte de miembros, bien proporciona-
> do, airoso, el rostro apacible con agrado divertido; la vista con
> sencillez indeterminada, sin disposición de ceño; sus facciones
> antes inclinadas a benignidad de una risa casual que a ira o eno-
> jo. No se le conocía otro ejercicio que la obediencia y con docili-
> dad crédula se aplicaba a lo que querían las personas de quien
> se confiaba y a la caza y al juego y todos esos ejercicios eran in-
> ducidos, porque en su corazón solo asistía la religión y la piedad.
> (Quevedo 2005a, 111)

Conocer que en *El chitón de las tarabillas* adjetiva al monarca co-
mo «el grande, el bueno, el amado, el dichoso, el santo» (Quevedo
2005b, 226) permite trasladarle tenor irónico al retrato, pero, toma-
do en sentido recto, muestra también que a Quevedo el gobierno de
Felipe III no le convenció en exceso.[4] En el preliminar que escribe a
la *Eternidad del Rey don Filipe Tercero, Nuestro Señor el Piadoso* de
Ana de Castro Egás (1629, 32*r*), parece reducir sus méritos a vivir en-
tre dos reinados: «Fue hijo de Filipe Segundo (aquí empezó su gran-
deza), fue padre de don Filipe Cuarto nuestro señor (aquí se colma-
ron y crecieron sus esclarecidos blasones), y en las grandes virtudes
de tal hijo se disculpó de mortal con sus reinos».[5]

Felipe III y Quevedo compartieron espacio en las salas del Alcázar
con una edad semejante: eran casi coetáneos, de manera que su retra-
to bien puede corresponder a su propia experiencia. Al margen de las
expresiones formularias sobre la estatura o sobre la fortaleza o agi-
lidad de sus movimientos, llama la atención el contraste con la mira-
da ejecutiva de su padre, ya que la vista de Felipe III es de «una sen-
cillez indeterminada, sin disposición de ceño» (Quevedo 2005a, 111).
Este pequeño gesto es interpretado en clave política, porque esa ex-
presión del rostro cercena la posibilidad de la ira, una de las posibles
acciones del príncipe (el par *amato/temuto* de Machiavelli). El monar-
ca no muestra una disposición clara en su rostro; parece inclinado,
en todo caso, a la *benignidad*, término que, según el *Diccionario de
Autoridades*, significa «afabilidad, blandura y agrado en el modo de
tratar» y «figuradamente se dice de las cosas inanimadas y equivale

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[4] Por contraste conviene traer a colación el cuadro de 1634, copia de otro del pintor
italiano Felipe Ariosto, con armadura negra y bajo las armas del reino de Aragón, que
lleva el título de *Felipe III, el piadoso y el bueno*, sintagmas a modo de epítetos épicos
que constituyeron adjetivación propia del rey Felipe III.

[5] Véase además el trabajo de Peraíta Huerta (2005).

Figura 7
Rodrigo de Villandrando
(atribuido), *Retrato de Felipe III*.
Principios del siglo XVII.
Óleo sobre lienzo, 201 × 113 cm.
Museo de la Trinidad de Madrid

a templanza». Tal disposición de ánimo se traduce en risas casuales, que no es inconveniente considerar como síntoma político de una dejación de funciones en favor de la distracción de la piedad. Las facciones elocuentes de su padre se convierten aquí en facciones que se inclinan (verbo marcado con una connotación negativa por ser impropio de un monarca), o son dominadas por una especie de molicie natural, no muy aceptable en los reyes. Quevedo añade, para mayor precisión en el retrato, que ni la caza ni el juego, considerados como ejercicios propios de un príncipe, análogos a los de la guerra, atraían al rey Felipe III, ya que tiende a realizarlos más por obligación ajena que por una indispensable convicción personal.

Contrasta esta información con las representaciones pictóricas. Los retratos de Felipe III son escasos, pero en todos ellos aparece vestido con armadura, con el rostro severo, a la manera de lo que impone

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la ya constituida tradición retratística de los Austrias, desde el primer cuadro, de Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, datado en 1606, con los repetidos objetos (tomados en sentido simbólico) de la bengala en una mano y de la espada en la otra, sobre un fondo de exteriores, muy a la manera de Tiziano. Posterior es el atribuido a Rodrigo de Villandrando **[fig. 7]**, de principios del siglo XVII, en el que Felipe III aparece de nuevo con atuendo militar, de color negro, con gesto aún más grave sobre un fondo de interior muy oscuro. De semejante perfil y vestimenta es el retrato de Pedro Antonio Vidal, de 1617 **[fig. 8]**, con un fondo indefinido pero más claro, que permite ver la silueta del rey que toca con sus manos los ya conocidos atributos de su poder, el cetro y la espada. La pintura del rey sentado, con ropa cortesana, de Bartolomé González, de hacia 1615, supone novedad y lo coloca más cerca de la semblanza quevediana. Desprovisto de sus atributos militares, Felipe

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III parece mostrar, manteniendo su severidad en el rostro, la otra faceta del poder, la del monarca preparado para la administración interna del gobierno. La postura sedente era más bien propia de las autoridades eclesiásticas o de aquellas en las que se quería resaltar la virtud de la prudencia o la discreción en sus acciones. El modelo del cuadro de Carlos V atribuido a Tiziano **[fig. 9]**, con analogías como los guantes recogidos en una mano, es evidente,[6] si bien con el contraste notable del color blanco de la vestimenta del nieto con el negro austero del emperador.[7] Quevedo parece estar más cerca de esta presentación menos belicosa del monarca, más próxima a esos términos de *agrado*, *benignidad* o *docilidad crédula* que el poeta madrileño le atribuye al rey como prolongación psicológica de su apacible retrato.

4 Felipe IV

El retrato de Felipe IV es breve:

> su rostro hermoso, que con majestad juntaba lo agradable de la niñez con lo severo de la compostura; airoso con desenfado; la estatura respectivamente a los años: ni grande ni pequeña, con viveza tal, repartida en todas las acciones de su persona, que se conoce intento y providencia en la vista y en las acciones. (Quevedo 2005a, 112)

El final parece truncado o no del todo bien resuelto (la repetición de la palabra *acciones* parece insólita en Quevedo), pero apunta al mismo lugar de la representación de los demás reyes: la capacidad de la mirada de producir efectos políticos. Quevedo circunscribe el retrato a la vista, con la intención posible de acercarlo más a la figura de su abuelo (o de su bisabuelo) que a la de su padre. Así lo declara el autor madrileño, en una frase que compendia las distintas facetas del poder: la fuerza militar en Carlos V, la audacia en la construcción administrativa del imperio con Felipe II y el auxilio de la Iglesia como factor fundamental de la dinastía con Felipe III: «Sus manos nos prometen a Carlos V; en sus palabras y decretos se lee y se oye a su abuelo; y en su religión resucita su padre» (112).

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6 Véase la ficha de este cuadro en la web del Museo del Prado: en uno de los inventarios se describe así: «Sentado en una silla de brocado, vestido de blanco, cuero en arpón -una alusión al dibujo en espiguilla del jubón-, botones de oro, lobos blancos, su gorra aderezada encima de un bufete. En un lienzo de dos varas de alto y vara y tercia de ancho» (`https://www.museodelprado.es/coleccion/obra-de-arte/felipe-iii-rey-de-espaa-sedente/c82774e3-fe57-49e8-95ed-b17d13ddd9ab`).

7 El fastuoso retrato ecuestre de Velázquez destinado para el Salón de Reinos del Palacio del Buen Retiro parece escapar de esta iconografía tan severa **[fig. 10]**.

Figura 10   Diego de Velázquez, *Retrato de Felipe III*. 1634-35. Óleo sobre lienzo, 300 × 212 cm.
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La descripción psicológica que acompaña el retrato, siempre explicada en relación con el ejercicio del poder, se presenta bajo la fórmula de un pronóstico o de una declaración de deseo. El esquema sigue la escolástica división entre entendimiento y voluntad, para luego pasar a la condición y a su relación con los demás. Se especifican algunos rasgos superficiales, derivados de sus ejercicios físicos, también por contraste con los realizados a regañadientes por su padre en su formación como rey: «su ejercicio es robusto y decente, con señas del ardor que a grandes cosas le azora los pasos en tanta mocedad entretenidos» (112). Aparte de estas expresiones que invitan a pensar en un lenguaje heroico propio de un posible rey beligerante, los «pasos entretenidos» es fórmula quevediana, de corte estoico, que el poeta acomodó en un célebre soneto «¡Qué perezosos pies, qué entretenidos», aparecido en 1631, en la versión de los *Sueños* de *Juguetes de la niñez* como poema moral y en *El Parnaso español* de 1648 como poema amoroso (Rey Álvarez 2007). El retrato del joven rey, ardoroso e inquieto, se completa con un sintagma que revela su disposición a la acción, tal vez militar, en el polo opuesto a su padre: «su caminar es por la posta; su holgura, la montería; su entretenimiento, las armas: todas promesas de aliento y empeños animosos para grandes victorias» (Quevedo 2005a, 112). El ocio (*caminar*, *holgura* y *entretenimiento*) se convierte en oficio propio de príncipe guerrero: *posta*, *montería* y *armas*. Los rasgos de su carácter, definidos por su cuerpo siempre activo, se presentan como síntomas de un gobierno esperanzador, ya que su determinación hacia la lucha o la guerra le convierten, siempre bajo la idea básica quevediana de que la paz es peligrosa, en virtuoso.

Se conocen un naipe **[fig. 11]**, atribuido a Bartolomé González, del príncipe Felipe, de 1615, y un cuadro de un Felipe IV joven **[fig. 12]**, siempre anteriores a la escritura quevediana, ambos conservados en el Museo Lázaro Galdiano. En el lienzo, el novísimo monarca aparece vestido de armadura, con bastón de mando en la mano derecha, apoyado en la espada con su mano izquierda, pintado con toda probabilidad por Rodrigo de Villandrando. De ambas imágenes, en consonancia con el modelo iconográfico impuesto por la dinastía desde Ticiano, no se desprende ninguna de las apreciaciones quevedianas, sin duda, derivadas de una relación estrecha con el personaje retratado. La muerte de Felipe III y la subida al trono de Felipe IV explica el tono laudatorio, centrado en la viveza del casi adolescente soberano. En textos posteriores, como en *El chitón de las tarabillas*, volverá sobre este asunto, ya que una de las acusaciones al rey era la de ser demasiado joven para el ejercicio monárquico: «Dime, ¿conoces a alguno que desde diecisiete a veinte y seis años no tenga con ceño todas las leyes, con ofensas todos los mandamientos, con cuidado todas las justicias, con inquietud todas las calles?» (Quevedo 2005b, 229). La ironía de estas palabras, interpretada al calor del contexto ambiguo del libelo anónimo escrito por Quevedo, resume la mudanza del narrador con respecto a este retrato elogioso, repleto de buenas palabras y mejores expectativas.

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Figura 11   Bartolomé González (atribuido),
Retrato de Felipe IV. 1615 ca. Naipe. Óleo en pergamino,
68 × 55 mm. Museo Lázaro Galdiano de Madrid

Figura 12   Sin atribución, *Retrato de Felipe IV*. s/d.
Óleo sobre lienzo, 146 × 120 cm.
Museo Lázaro Galdiano de Madrid

Figura 13   Diego de Velázquez, *Retrato de Felipe IV*.
1623-28. Óleo sobre lienzo, 198 × 101 cm.
Museo del Prado de Madrid

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El más célebre cuadro de Velázquez, conservado en el Museo del Prado **[fig. 13]**, probablemente pintado al mismo tiempo que Quevedo incluía sus semblanzas en la nueva redacción de sus *Grandes Anales*, representa un Felipe IV jovencísimo, ataviado con ropas cortesanas de color negro y con austera profusión de adornos, en particular con cuellos ya recortados, conforme a las nuevas pragmáticas dictadas por el propio rey para reducir el exceso de ornamentación en los atuendos de los hombres. En este retrato se echan en falta los atributos militares y sí se hace notar la presencia de referencias a su tarea burocrática: el billete en la mano y el bufete donde apoya la otra, el gorro sobre la mesa y ese fondo indeterminado, donde asoma la sombra, tan particular de Velázquez que traslada al rey a un espacio un tanto intemporal. La imagen perfecta del tópico del *puer senex* parece evidente: el rostro muestra una mirada juvenil mientras la vestimenta recuerda la severidad y el porte de su carga real. La suma de opuestos se corresponde letra a letra con la cláusula quevediana con la que arranca su retrato: «su rostro hermoso, que con majestad juntaba lo agradable de la niñez con lo severo de la compostura» (Quevedo 2005a, 112). Velázquez y Quevedo, a la altura de 1623, coinciden en su apreciación del rey Felipe IV: el parangón entre pintura y poesía encuentra aquí un ejemplo extraordinario.

5 Duque de Lerma

Del valido duque de Lerma es el siguiente retrato. Tras la obligatoria identificación nobiliaria de los retratos (siguiendo el esquema ciceroniano para las etopeyas de comenzar por el *nomen*), Quevedo hace relatorio de la vida del duque de Lerma como servidor del rey, bajo sospecha de trabajar más para su propia fortuna que para la de la monarquía. En la descripción física, Quevedo apenas se extiende:

> Tuvo persona autorizada no sin gala; mocedad venerable y vejez pulida; rostro con caricia risueña, halagüeño; mañoso más que bien entendido; de voluntad imperiosa con otros y postrada para sí: no generoso, sino derramado; antes perdido que liberal, no sin advertencia y nota, pues daba de lo que recibía. (2005a, 113)

En estas breves frases, Quevedo mezcla rasgos físicos con aptitudes y afectos con los demás. La «caricia risueña» se vincula a la inclinación de Felipe III a la risa: no parece favorable este rasgo en el gobierno de los príncipes, ya que, si en el rey era signo de su escaso interés por las cosas del gobierno, en el duque de Lerma es de estrategia para la maña. La ausencia de severidad en el rostro se adopta como defecto. Sus alegrías en el gasto parecen corresponderse con ese rasgo fisionómico de la risa, rechazable en todo gobernante. «Halagüeño» añade

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Figura 14 Pedro Pablo Rubens, *Retrato del duque de Lerma*. 1603. Óleo sobre lienzo, 290 × 207 cm. Museo del Prado de Madrid

a estas notas el de adulador y complaciente con el poder, otra de las acusaciones que se le hicieron al duque, aunque tampoco se descarta la acepción más sencilla de *blando,* lo que, por otra parte, le conduce a un terreno poco admisible en un gobernante, a entender de Quevedo.

El alarde en el vestir que se destaca en «no sin gala» fue motivo de debate político nada más concluir su valimiento: las premáticas

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Figura 15 Anónimo (taller vallisoletano), *Retrato del cardenal duque de Lerma*. 1625 (circa). Óleo en lienzo, 207 × 127 cm. Museo Nacional de Escultura de Valladolid

sancionadas unos años después por Felipe IV a instancias del conde de Olivares, ya comentadas, perseguían acabar con el adorno excesivo en el ropaje cortesano, sobre todo en época del duque de Lerma. El retrato ecuestre del duque, realizado por Pedro Pablo Rubens **[fig. 14]**, permite ver esa figura repleta de ornamento, con los brillos de las joyas y las ropas que visten al valido del rey. La austeridad (al menos en la profusión de colores o de objetos suntuosos en su representación pictórica), que en Carlos V y Felipe II habían sido norma, se rompe con la exhibición notoria de galas sin cuento del privado real que Quevedo muestra en ese sintagma rotundo.

El tópico *puer senex* de los elogios a príncipes jóvenes pero prudentes, aplicado a Felipe IV, también aparece para designar al duque de Lerma: «mocedad venerable». Pero también aparece una expresión inversa, «vejez pulida», lo que, sin embargo, induce a considerarlo no tan elogioso o muy probablemente como disimulada *vituperatio* por el uso conocido (las informaciones sobre los gustos suntuarios del duque eran *vox populi*) de un exagerado adorno. El exceso en la vestimenta o en la apariencia externa del duque puede estar detrás de esa aparente alabanza de su buena presencia, en línea con una extensa tradición satírica contra los viejos que fingen ser más jóvenes o hacen todo lo posible por remendar su cuerpo contra el paso del tiempo.

Los elogios quevedianos deben ser siempre leídos con lupa: el lector tiende a sospechar de la sinceridad (palabra que admito insuficiente) del encomio. De esa manera, no es inoportuno reconocer en ese rasgo de la «vejez pulida» un dardo envenenado de orden burlesco.

Más adelante dirá del duque de Lerma que se hizo cardenal «cuando el capelo pasó plaza de retraimiento y el Consejo de trampa. Viose desterrado y el proceso y la persecución, embarazada en solo el bonete» (113). En efecto, el duque de Lerma, acosado por varias denuncias, consiguió del papa Sixto V el capelo cardenalicio como salvaguarda y protección. Este movimiento del valido, a la altura de 1618, al final de su privanza, fue criticado por las facciones contrarias: Quevedo se hace eco del malestar causado por esa burda estrategia. En un cuadro conservado en el Museo Nacional de la Escultura en Valladolid **[fig. 15]**, todavía sin atribuir con seguridad, aunque de talleres vallisoletanos, se puede ver el semblante serio del duque, vestido de cardenal, con un billete en la mano izquierda y con el bonete en la derecha. Fue posible encargo para fomentar su imagen de severidad, pero bien pudo servir a Quevedo para comprobar cómo el bonete era utilizado como obstáculo y escudo para los procesos incoados contra el valido. La metonimia del retrato quevediano se exhibe en el primer plano, como objeto central y simbólico, de este cuadro sobrio y hierático del valido, tan opuesto al enérgico y lleno de colorido realizado por Pedro Pablo Rubens que formó parte de la colección real hasta que Felipe IV lo regaló al entonces Almirante de Castilla.

6   Duque de Uceda

El hijo del duque de Lerma, que gobernó como privado los últimos años del reinado de Felipe IV, el duque de Uceda, también tiene su retrato en esta galería final de los *Grandes Anales de quince días*. La *brevitas* es semejante, pero se acompaña de mayor detalle o precisión, con un ritmo en su conjunto que recuerda a la célebre caricatura del Dómine Cabra:

> mediano de cuerpo, que con lo abultado se pudo llamar pequeño; aspecto placentero; barba, más de amenaza que de guía; talle delgado, más ceñido por abrigo que por bien parecer; el traje y el vestido, siempre ajados. Puso todo su cuidado en disimular solamente la falta del cabello, que en el remedio se descubrió con nota. (Quevedo 2005a, 113-14)

Las características del retratado no son las más favorables: se inclina, en estos sintagmas, a una *descriptio* satírica más que propiamente histórica. Quevedo empleará más adelante el adjetivo «abultado» como eufemismo de grueso: el *Diccionario de Autoridades* además

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ejemplifica el término con el pasaje de su *Marco Bruto*: «tuvo César sospecha de Bruto y Casio, no de Marco Antonio y Dolabela, hombres abultados con los desórdenes de la gula».[8] Esta apreciación, más moral que solo descriptiva, rebaja desde el comienzo su consideración personal. El «aspecto placentero» le emparenta a la *caricia risueña* de su padre, pero aparece contradicho de inmediato con el carácter amenazador del rostro, marcado por su barba, que, en nueva versión del par *amato/temuto*, *guía/amenaza*, define su acción política. Es idea recurrente en Quevedo centrarse en la capacidad del rostro, de las facciones o de su mirada, para explicar las aptitudes del príncipe o del valido; siempre aparece una nota al respecto: en este caso, la supuesta contradicción entre el aspecto placentero y el gesto amenazante.

La vestimenta es el segundo rasgo: puede resultar casi opuesto el hecho de que sea grueso/abultado y que su talle sea delgado. Es muy posible que sea una caracterización de su vestuario: prefiere los vestidos ceñidos que los amplios. En cualquier caso, Quevedo reconoce el descuido en el vestir, que le separa de la gala ostentosa de su padre. Y queda, por último, una noticia sobre la calvicie del duque que puede enlazarse con la gran tradición satírica *contra calvos* que Quevedo cultivó con especial éxito, estudiada en bibliografía tan amplia como muy conocida; en este caso, contra la decisión de disimular la ausencia de cabello con trucos o remedios casi siempre insatisfactorios o contraproducentes. Traer a colación el número de fórmulas burlescas empleadas por Quevedo para este motivo, de origen epigramático, sería improcedente: baste señalarlo y apuntar que, con este bagaje satírico, el retrato del duque de Uceda queda teñido de un ligero sabor degradante.

Solo se conocen dos retratos del duque: uno de ellos custodiado en el Hospital de Tavera, sede de la Fundación duque de Lerma, probablemente pintado por Carreño Miranda, bastante más tarde que este texto de Quevedo, con ropaje de cortesano, con rostro muy severo y con la cabeza sin cabello, y otro, que se halla en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, un grabado del siglo XIX, de Juan Serra **[fig. 16]**, en el que se ve un duque joven, pero con un peinado que, mirado con los ojos del retrato quevediano, bien puede corresponder a un intento de tapar la parte alta de la cabeza con los cabellos de los lados. No es descartable que en el grabado la lectura de Quevedo haya surtido efecto. En todo caso, en la pintura del duque de Uceda, Quevedo halla una opción burlesca, no del todo explícita ni abierta, debido al género serio de la relación histórica y quizá a su pretendida voluntad de historiador, pero tal vez condicionada por el conocimiento directo

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8 Sobre el retrato de Marco Bruto, léase Medina Barco 2007, quien ha trabajado en el aparato iconográfico quevediano (Medina Barco 2005), así como en las técnicas pictóricas en su poesía (2004).

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de las acciones del valido y por la necesaria denigración de los últimos días del régimen anterior para contrastarlo con los buenos augurios del siguiente: el privado Uceda paga en el retrato algo grotesco su pertenencia al viejo régimen defenestrado.

7 Fray Luis de Aliaga

Fray Luis de Aliaga, Confesor Real e Inquisidor General durante los últimos años del reinado de Felipe III y los primeros de Felipe IV, es el último de los retratados por Quevedo.[9] No hay constancia de imagen alguna del dominico de origen zaragozano, plenipotenciario en los estertores del gobierno privado del duque de Uceda. En los *Grandes Anales* es protagonista de una de las purgas y persecuciones más intensas de los nuevos hombres del poder con Felipe IV. Por

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9 Para comprender al confesor real de Felipe III, véanse los recientes estudios de Poutrin (2006) y de Galván Desvaux (2018). Ambos trabajos sirven para certificar la categoría del texto de Quevedo como documento histórico para atestiguar juicios o consideraciones sobre el fraile Aliaga.

ello, Quevedo le reserva la última de las semblanzas, breve, pero llena de referencias negativas: «fue de buena estatura, color turbio y facciones robustas; en la religión, mañoso; en la privanza, molesto: fue lo que le mandaron» (Quevedo 2005a, 114).[10] Las notas físicas inciden en una complexión de envergadura, tal vez de rasgos algo autoritarios o imponentes. El adjetivo *turbio* aplicado al color de su piel le otorga, sin duda, algunas consideraciones morales no muy positivas, complementadas con ese adjetivo *mañoso* utilizado para definir su modo de actuación en el lugar político que denominaba. La brevedad con que Quevedo despacha a Luis de Aliaga, con ejemplos de una sintaxis lacónica, repleta de densidad semántica, abre las posibilidades de comprensión ambigua del personaje: su retrato físico parece anticipar, con esa mezcla de fortaleza corporal y de turbio colorido, el retrato político, abundante en maniobras y astucias ocultas para conservar el poder.

8 Conclusión

Se ignora la razón por la que Quevedo emprende el relato histórico de estos quince días. Lo comienza a escribir muy poco después: del 16 de mayo de 1621 es la fecha que figura en el prólogo, con el añadido del lugar desde donde lo escribe: en la prisión de la Torre de Juan Abad. Quevedo escribe estos *Anales* desde su casa, en pleno exilio u ostracismo, tal vez derivado de su posición en la corte. Escribe desde fuera, pero sobre todos los pormenores internos de la sucesión dinástica. No consta destinatario: tan solo el *Al que leyere* del prólogo ofrece algún insuficiente dato. De ello puede deducirse un trabajo intelectual (no en vano es una crónica de historiador puntual y cercano) *motu proprio*. Puede apuntarse, como se ha hecho en repetidas ocasiones, una emulación del modelo de Tácito, por el título, por la propuesta de comenzar con la muerte de un rey o de un emperador, por el tipo de observaciones y por ciertos rasgos de estilo. De manera que el humanista Quevedo no necesita en este caso del encargo o del estímulo externo para ponerse a la faena de contar lo sucedido en los días posteriores a la muerte de Felipe III. De esta manera, coloca el texto en una posición de mayor voluntad propia, apoyada, además, en que estos textos no conocieron la imprenta, pero sí una considerable multiplicación de versiones.

La contextualización de estos *Grandes Anales* no impide que estos retratos finales hayan cobrado con el tiempo una cierta autonomía. José Marchena, en sus famosas *Lecciones de filosofía moral y*

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10 Véase Peraita Huerta 1997, 35 ss., en especial su tratamiento del término *maña* en estos contextos políticos.

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elocuencia, publicadas en 1820, en Burdeos, consideradas como uno de los principales instrumentos sancionadores del canon decimonónico, incluye un extenso repertorio de textos de distinta naturaleza elocutiva: entre los que él denomina «Caracteres y retratos» se incluye uno de esos retratos, el del duque de Uceda, como ejemplo. Años después, el 30 de julio de 1890, en la *Revista contemporánea*, se incluye un artículo del historiador Juan Pérez de Guzmán, titulado «Ocho retratos históricos inéditos», que incluye los retratos de Quevedo y otros dos más: Juan de Idiáquez, y Pedro Henríquez, el conde de Fuentes. El afamado historiador ignora la procedencia de esos retratos: los coloca como curiosidad procedente de un manuscrito en el que se recogen, con variantes también sustanciales.

Ambas referencias sirven para calibrar el carácter singular o anómalo de los textos quevedianos, que adquieren en una recepción ulterior categoría de paradigma, justificada por el especial lugar que ocupan y, tal vez, por la condensación estilística, llena de paradojas y sentencias ambiguas, que exhiben. Quevedo pudo haberse sentido descontento con la percepción que los lectores pudieran haber extraído de los relatos de los acontecimientos y decidió ampliarlos con una ilustración personal, a modo de galería o pasillo de memorias visuales de aquellos días, bajo la premisa de que en el gesto o en la mirada se puede hallar explicación al ejercicio del poder. Sintió, quizá, que sus observaciones sobre las acciones de reyes y ministros necesitaban el apoyo de unos retratos físicos, exentos, colocados de forma jerárquica, ordenados con la aplicación de las reglas retóricas para la etopeya, para someterlos a un juicio político detallado y preciso, con el posible objetivo de dejar bien clara su posición ante las novedades del nuevo reinado. Años más tarde, en 1630, cuando se atreva a defender (con dudas y no poco sulfuro) las nuevas medidas del rey Felipe IV en *El chitón de las tarabillas*, las consideraciones críticas de las páginas finales de los *Grandes Anales de quince días* resonarán de nuevo con semejantes impresiones. No se contentó Quevedo con la construcción más o menos verídica del relato: lo adornó con las imágenes (fisionomía y comportamiento moral a un tiempo) de los personajes que lo protagonizaron, para fijar un retrato completo del final de una época y el incipiente nacimiento de otra.

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„Schmerzlos sind wir und haben fast | Die Sprache in der Fremde verloren" Hölderlin über Heimat und Heimatlosigkeit

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Abstract　Recent research has rightly emphasized the extent to which Hölderlin's poetry opens up broad horizons of transcultural perspectives with a thoroughly cosmopolitan intention. However, these great drafts of 'transtopias' remain in the realm of speculative idealism, as long as one ignores the counterpoint that Hölderlin sets up with his contemporaneous texts about the experience of extreme individual danger and distress. Only against this background of struggle for self-preservation in hard and "godforsaken" times, Hölderlin's ingenious, still hopeful rather than deconstructive intuitions gain real credibility and relevance.

Keywords　Hölderlin. Transculturality. Identity. Alterity. Alienation. 'Heimat' (Home).

Es ist kaum zu übersehen, wie stark und durchgängig ‚Heimat'
und das Leiden an ihrem Mangel oder Verlust in Hölderlins Werk
präsent sind. Neben den zahlreichen Gedichten über heimatliche
Landschaften, Flüsse und Städte in ihrer anrührenden Schönheit ste-
hen mehrere, deren Titel explizit auf einen besonderen persönlichen
und bis in die geographischen Details hinein sehr konkreten Bezug
zu den Räumen der eigenen Herkunft und der Sehnsucht nach ihnen,
solche, die als *Vaterländische Gesänge*[1] ein hohes mythopoetisches
Engagement für eine neue ‚nationale' Selbstverortung im Sinne kul-
tureller Innovation im Konzert der Völkergemeinschaft zeigen, sowie
auch äußerst anspruchsvolle kultur-, geschichtsphilosophische und
poetologische Überlegungen zum Verhältnis zwischen dem ‚Eigenen'
bzw. ‚Nationellen' und dem ‚Fremden'. Dennoch ist die einschlägige
neuere Fachliteratur zum Thema relativ überschaubar.[2] Bezüglich
der Gründe hierfür liegen mindestens zweierlei Vermutungen nahe.

Zum einen ist die Rede von ‚Heimat' und ‚Vaterland' gerade auch in
Bezugnahme auf Hölderlin im deutschsprachigen Kulturhorizont an-
gesichts des Missbrauchs, den die nationalsozialistische Demagogie
mit seiner Dichtung getrieben hat, unwiederbringlich gebrochen
oder muss zumindest äußerst schwierig erscheinen.[3] Zum anderen
mag es zu Zeiten, in denen Globalisierungskonzepte als alternativ-
los für Gegenwart und Zukunft einer eigentlich immer uniformier-
teren Welt propagiert werden, nicht von besonderem Interesse sein,
auf die anthropologische wie sozio-politische Bedeutung eines inne-
ren wie äußeren Bezugsraums hinzuweisen, der immer noch als von
hoher affektiver individueller und kollektiver Relevanz empfunden

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[1] Vgl. Polledri 2021, 64-93. Es ist nicht eindeutig zu bestimmen, welche Gedichte
Hölderlin mit dieser Bezeichnung eigentlich meint, die er im Brief an seinen Verleger
Wilmans vom 3. Dezember 1803 explizit neben denen von den *Nachtgesängen* gebraucht,
die er für dessen Almanach vorschlagen will. Hölderlins Werke und Briefe werden im
Folgenden als *StA* zitiert nach der *Großen Stuttgarter Ausgabe*. Vgl. hier *StA* 6.1, 436. Vor
allem Ulrich Gaier hat diese immer noch kontroverse, aber aussagekräftigere Zuordnung
vertreten. Seine Argumentationen hierzu finden sich zusammengefasst in Gaier 2020.

[2] Von besonderem Interesse ist hier der „Hölderlins Räumen" gewidmete Band 38 des
Hölderlin-Jahrbuchs; vgl. bes. Osterhammel 2013; Doering 2013 und Kreuzer 2013, so-
wie den Abriss zu den historischen Hintergründen und Inkongruenzen der zeitgenös-
sischen Rede von ‚Vaterland' von Franz 2013. Hervorzuheben sind außerdem: Binder
1970a; 1970b; Härtling 1987; Görner 1992, sowie Reitani 2020b.

[3] Nicht verschwiegen werden soll allerdings, dass Hölderlin auch Verse gedichtet
hat, die einem solchen Missbrauch durchaus Vorschub leisten konnten. Allerdings ist
der martialische Ton in Hölderlins Rede vom ‚Vaterland' eher eine Ausnahme und nicht
als Feindseligkeit gegen andere Völker, sondern vielmehr als Revolutionsaufruf gegen
die Tyrannei der sich heuchlerisch als ‚Landesväter' stilisierenden deutschen Fürsten
aufzufassen. In der Ode *Der Tod fürs Vaterland* schwingen so viele Assonanzen mit der
Marseillaise und den revolutionären Vorstellungen einer republikanischen *patrie* nach
französischem Vorbild mit, auch wenn Hölderlin sich zur gleichen Zeit bereits äußerst
desillusioniert über die Zustände in Frankreich zeigt und die Sinnhaftigkeit kriegeri-
scher Aktionen im *Hyperion* grundsätzlich konterkariert.

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werden könnte. Und auch wenn sich die Verheißungen fortschreitender Entgrenzungen als zumindest ambivalent erweisen und die negativen Auswirkungen der Etablierung immer ‚totalitärerer', also den ganzen Planeten umgreifender Hyperstrukturen allmählich unübersehbar werden, so scheint Heimat in post(post)moderner Perspektive im Grunde tatsächlich nur noch als utopisches Konstrukt verstanden werden zu können. Bernhard Schlink hat es folgendermaßen auf den Punkt gebracht (2000, 32):

> So sehr Heimat auf Orte bezogen ist, Geburts- und Kindheitsorte, Orte des Glücks, Orte, an denen man lebt, wohnt, arbeitet, Familie und Freunde hat – letztlich hat sie weder einen Ort, noch ist sie einer. Heimat ist Nichtort. Heimat ist Utopie.

Soweit man nun Hölderlins Entwicklung im Spiegel seiner Dichtung nachvollziehen kann, ergibt sich allerdings ein anderer Befund. Für ihn beginnt eigentlich alles mit allerdings schon nostalgischer, also schmerzvoller Erinnerung an heimatliche Geborgenheit. Sein ‚Vaterland', als das er zunächst den ziemlich eingeschränkten Nürtinger Umkreis zwischen Albrand und Neckar empfindet, verlässt er nach der Stiftszeit nur schweren Herzens.[4] Die beiden Primärinstanzen, die das intime Heimatgefühl bestimmen, sind dabei tatsächlich die frühen menschlichen Beziehungen in der Familie und vor allem die ländliche Natur. Das frühe Gedicht *Die Meinige* (*StA* 1.1, 15-20) aus der Maulbronner Zeit spiegelt ersteres, das wahrscheinlich 1797 oder 1798 entstandenen Gedicht *Da ich ein Knabe war* (266-7) letzteres wider, wobei die Verbundenheit mit der heimatlichen Natur dort sogar in Kontrast zu der mit den Menschen gesetzt wird. Als Hölderlin die ursprünglichen Orte gefühlter Zugehörigkeit längst verloren hat und im Rückblick sicher auch idealisiert,[5] wird er sich immer mehr bewusst, unfreiwillig einem Ausnahmeschicksal in der Fremde entgegenzugehen. Aus einem Brief an die Mutter, den er Ende 1797 aus Frankfurt schreibt, geht deutlich hervor, dass die Sehnsucht nach Beheimatung dabei durchaus lebendig bleibt:

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[4] Vgl. etwa die Briefe an die Mutter vom 30. Juli 1794 und 22. Februar 1795, *StA* 6.1, 130; 158. Vgl. Binder 1970b, 79, und ausführlicher Wittkop 1999.

[5] Nach den vielen Abbrüchen in seinem Leben kehrt Hölderlin ja tatsächlich oft nach Nürtingen zurück, wobei diese Aufenthalte in Wirklichkeit wohl keineswegs immer so harmonisch und glücklich verlaufen sind. Oft verschiebt er Besuche bei den Verwandten (vgl. etwa *StA* 6.1, 248; 315, 352), wie überhaupt das Verhältnis besonders zur Mutter ja alles andere als unproblematisch war. Zu den frühen Entwicklungen vgl. bes. Doering 2022. Der letzte Aufenthalt in Nürtingen scheint für Hölderlin besonders aufwühlend gewesen zu sein. So man Waiblingers Bericht glauben darf, jagte er sogar „Mutter und sämtliche Haubewohner in der Raserey aus dem Hause" (*StA* 7.3, 60).

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Und lassen Sie Ihre Ruhe durch keine Gedanken an den Sohn stö-
ren, der eben in der Fremde lebt, und leben muß, bis seine eige-
ne Natur und äußere Umstände ihm erlauben, auch irgendwo mit
Herz und Sinnen einheimisch zu werden. (*StA* 6.1, 260)

In poetische Sprache transponiert, steigert sich diese Erfahrung
destabilisierender Heimatlosigkeit nach der leidvollen Trennung
von Susette Gontard zu beunruhigender Gefahr. In *Mein Eigentum*
heißt es:

Beglükt, wer, ruhig liebend ein frommes Weib,
  Am eignen Heerd in rühmlicher Heimat lebt,
    Es leuchtet über vestem Boden
      Schöner dem sicheren Mann sein Himmel.

Denn, wie die Pflanze, wurzelt auf eignem Grund
  Sie nicht, verglüht die Seele des Sterblichen
    Der mit dem Tageslicht nur, ein
      Armer auf heiliger Erde wandelt.

[...]

Und daß auch mir zu retten mein sterblich Herz
  Wie die andern eine bleibende Stätte sei
    Und heimathlos die Seele mir nicht
      Über das Leben hinweg sich sehne

Sei du, Gesang, mein freundlich Asyl! (306-7)

Andererseits aber fürchtet Hölderlin jede Enge. In *Der Gang aufs
Land* will das lyrische Ich mit dem Freund nicht nur hinaus aus den
Gasthäusern „ins Offene"[6] der freien Landschaft, sondern es geht über-
haupt darum, „[d]aß aber uns das Vaterland nicht werde | Zum klei-
nen Raum" (*StA* 2.1, 338). Hölderlin ist neugierig auf die neuesten
topographischen Erkenntnisse und Reiseberichte, dekoriert seine
Zimmerwände in Homburg mit Karten der „4 Weltheile"[7] und erweitert
seine Vorstellungen vom ‚hesperischen' Vaterland auf den Spuren der
mutig aufbrechenden Seefahrer und Entdecker um ganze Kontinente.[8]
Auffällig ist auch der Wunsch, die Erde in schwebender Imagination

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6 Vgl. *StA* 2.1, 84 ff.

7 So in der durchaus ironischen Beschreibung seiner beengten Wohnverhältnisse
während des ersten Aufenthalts in Homburg im Brief an die Schwester *StA* 6.1, 352.

8 In diesem Zusammenhang vgl. bes. Reitani 2020a; 2020c.

aus der Vogelperspektive in weiteren Räumen betrachten zu können:[9]

> Wenn die leichtere Luft mir alle Sinne bezaubert
> Und das unendliche Thal, wie eine farbige Wolke
> Unter mir liegt, da werd' ich zum Adler, und ledig des Bodens
> Wechselt mein Leben im All der Natur wie Nomaden den Wohnort.
> (*StA* 1.1, 236)

Dann aber „führt mich der Pfad zurük ins Leben der Menschen", heißt es in *Die Muße* weiter, wo die Selbstvergewisserung durch die noch selbstverständliche Verankerung in der Natur und in einem ‚Zuhause' noch dringlicher wird durch das Bewusstsein vom Untergang anderer Kulturen. Der „geheime Geist der Unruh | der Unbezwungne, der alte Erobrer | Der die Städte, wie Lämmer, zerreißt, der einst den Olympus | Stürmte" (235-6), droht das innere und äußere Gleichgewicht ins Wanken zu bringen. Um nicht an ihm „irre" zu werden, bedarf es des Rückzugs in den sicheren Heimatraum:

> Hab' ich zu Hauße dann, wo die Bäume das Fenster umsäuseln
> Und die Luft mit dem Lichte mir spielt, von menschlichem Leben
> Ein erzählendes Blatt zu gutem Ende gelesen:
> Leben! Leben der Welt! du liegst wie ein heiliger Wald da,
> Sprech ich dann, und es nehme die Axt, wer will dich zu ebnen,
> Glüklich wohn' ich in dir. (236)

Nähe und Distanz zur Heimat sind also komplementär im Wechsel der Perspektiven, wobei der konkrete menschliche Raum eigentlich erst entsteht, wenn die horizontale Achse sich mit der vertikalen trifft, der Mensch also sozusagen im Schnittpunkt der individuell so verschiedenen „Linien des Lebens"[10] zwischen Kontingentem und Göttlichem steht bzw. selber dazu wird. In den nicht sicher zu datierenden und zu ordnenden Textsegmenten *Über Religion* (bzw. *Fragment philosophischer Briefe*) liefert Hölderlin so etwas wie eine Grundlagentheorie dafür, wie man sich in der Welt überhaupt menschenwürdig beheimaten kann. Die Konstitution des Ichs versteht er dort nicht etwa als absoluten Akt der Selbstsetzung, denn es geht von vorneherein um ein endliches, gleichzeitig geistiges und psychophysisches Wesen in einer Welt, die nicht einfach nur tote Materie ist, sondern eine selber geist- und gotterfüllte Wirklichkeit. „Daß

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9 Zum Motiv des Adlerflugs und insg. zur Perspektivierung der Raumkonzepte vgl. bes. Doering 2013, hier 53-7, die eine zunehmende Abstrahierung der Wahrnehmung und Loslösung von konkreten Details bei Hölderlin feststellt.

10 Vgl. *StA* 2.1, 268.

einer | Etwas für sich ist" (*StA* 2.1, 158),[11] hat zur Voraussetzung, dass sich das Ich in eine ‚zarte' geistige und seelische Beziehung zu seiner konkreten Umwelt setzt. Denn „jene zartern und unendlichern Verhältnisse müssen also aus dem Geist betrachtet werden, der in der Sphäre herrscht, in der sie stattfinden" (*StA* 4.1, 277-8), womit „ein höherer unendlicherer Zusammenhang" zwischen dem Menschen „und seinem Elemente [...] in seinem wirklichen Leben" gemeint ist, der „weder blos in Gedanken, noch blos im Gedächtniß wiederholt werden" (276) kann:

> Weder aus sich selbst allein, noch einzig aus den Gegenständen, die ihn umgeben, kann der Mensch erfahren, daß mehr als Maschinengang, daß ein Geist, ein Gott, ist in der Welt, aber wohl in einer lebendigeren, über die Nothdurft erhabenen Beziehung, in der er steht mit dem was ihn umgibt. (278)

Diese zartere Beziehung hat dabei zunächst wieder eher intimen Charakter, insofern es gemäß der „apriorität des Individuellen über das Ganze"[12] erst einmal darum geht, als Individuum dadurch sich seiner selbst bewusst werden und sich fühlen zu können, dass man sich transzendiert hin auf den Geist, der in der konkreten Wirklichkeit um einen herum weht. Heimat ist in diesem Sinne also sozusagen ein geistiges und seelisches ‚Urerlebnis', das in den unendlicheren Horizont von ‚göttlicher' bzw. ‚religiöser' Qualität zunächst individueller, dann auch kollektiver Konstitution einer echten Lebenswelt führt:

> Und jeder hätte demnach seinen eigenen Gott, in so ferne jeder seine eigene Sphäre hat, in der er wirkt und die er erfährt, und nur in so ferne mehrere Menschen eine gemeinschaftliche Sphäre haben, in der sie menschlich, d.h. über die Nothdurft erhaben wirken und leiden, nur in so ferne haben sie eine gemeinschaftliche Gottheit [...] (278)

Da „der Mensch sich wohl auch in die Lage des andern versezen, daß er die Sphäre des andern zu seiner eigenen Sphäre machen kann" (278), wäre sogar denkbar, dass

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11 Vgl. die auch für Hegel wichtige Individualitätsbestimmung des Fürsichseins bei Aristoteles, *Metaphysik* VII 1028 a 27.

12 Die im Homburger Folioheft von Hölderlin über dem Entwurf *Vom Abgrund nemlich…* später notierte Formulierung greift ebenfalls einen Grundgedanken von Aristoteles auf, der im Unterschied zu Platon die ontologische Priorität des individuellen Einzelnen vor dem Allgemeinen betont. Vgl. *Kategorien* 3 b 10 ff. u.ö.

es eine Sphäre gibt, in der alle Menschen zugleich leben, und mit der sie in mehr als nothdürftiger Beziehung sich fühlen, dann aber auch nur in so ferne, haben sie alle eine gemeinschaftliche Gottheit. (278)

Erst auf dieser Folie seines sich nicht zum Absoluten hin aufhebenden, die Bedingungen der Endlichkeit bewahrenden Idealismus wird begreiflich, warum Heimat für Hölderlin die Qualität einer unverzichtbaren Grundwirklichkeit hat, und gleichzeitig, warum auch seine spätere politisch pointiertere Rede vom Vaterland zwar ‚Nationelles' betrifft, nicht aber aggressive nationalistische Idiolatrie des ‚Eigenen' meinen kann.

Allerdings entwickeln sich Biographien nun nicht linear. Hier kommt Hölderlins Vorstellung von der „exzentrischen Bahn" ins Spiel, die wir alle durchlaufen müssen, wie es in der *Vorrede* zur vorletzten Fassung des *Hyperion* heißt:

Wir durchlaufen alle eine exzentrische Bahn, und es ist kein anderer Weg möglich von der Kindheit zur Vollendung. Die seelige Einigkeit, das Seyn, im einzigen Sinne des Worts, ist für uns verloren und wir mußten es verlieren, wenn wir es erstreben, erringen sollten. Wir reißen uns los vom friedlichen Εν και Παν der Welt, um es herzustellen, durch uns Selbst. (*StA* 3, 236)

Die astronomische Metaphorik beschreibt das Kometenhafte in der hyperbolischen Kurve, die die menschliche Existenz durchläuft, also als zutiefst paradox. Einerseits betont Hölderlin schon früh, dass die einzige Schuld, die der Mensch auf sich laden könnte, darin bestehen würde, nicht den Mut zu finden, diese „küne Bahn" zu beschreiten,[13] denn der „reine Geist, der aus dem Äther stammt" ist ja über den Menschen

zum Schlafe nicht herabgekommen,
[...]
Er strahlt heran, er schrökt, wie Meteore,
Befreit und bändigt, ohne Ruh' und Sold [...] (*StA* 1.1, 223)

Andererseits verliert der Mensch durch den unwiderstehlichen Drang über seine beschränkten Horizonte hinaus das ursprüngliche Paradies heimatlicher Geborgenheit und verursacht durch diese Exzentrik seine eigene Exilierung:

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13   *StA* 1.1, 149; 152; 155. Vgl. die Gedichte *Die heilige Bahn* und *Keppler* (wohl 1789; *StA* 1.1, 79 ff.; 81 ff.). Zur durchaus positiven Konnotation des Kometen bei Hölderlin vgl. auch Bennholdt-Thomson, Guzzoni 2017, 148-59.

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> Wir sind's, wir! wir haben unsre Lust daran, uns in die Nacht des
> Unbekannten, in die kalte Fremde irgend einer andern Welt zu
> stürzen, und, wär' es möglich, wir verließen der Sonne Gebiet und
> stürmten über des Irrsterns Gränzen hinaus. Ach! für des Men-
> schen wilde Brust ist keine Heimath möglich; und wie der Sonne
> Stral die Pflanzen der Erde, die er entfaltete, wieder versengt, so
> tödtet der Mensch die süßen Blumen, die an seiner Brust gedeih-
> ten, die Freuden der Verwandtschaft und der Liebe. (*StA* 3, 16)

Manchen aber sitzt der „Stachel" der Sehnsucht ins Unbekannte und
Unendliche hinein sogar noch tiefer in der Brust als anderen, wie es
die bekannten Verse aus *Abendphantasie* beklagen:

> Wohin denn ich? Es leben die Sterblichen
> Von Lohn und Arbeit; wechselnd in Müh' und Ruh'
> Ist alles freudig; warum schläft denn
> Nimmer nur mir in der Brust der Stachel? (*StA* 1.1, 301)

Eine rastlose Unruhe unbehausten Daseins kommt hier zum
Ausdruck, die anscheinend innerhalb der Grenzen eines Landes nicht
gestillt werden kann. In der einleitenden Strophe von *Elegie* wird der
Stachel der Unaushaltbarkeit von Endlichkeit und Tod angesichts
des Verlusts der Geliebten sogar zum Pfeil, der eine schwer heilba-
re Wunde schlägt:

> Täglich geh' ich heraus, und such' ein Anderes immer,
>   Habe längst sie befragt alle die Pfade des Lands;
> Droben die kühlenden Höhn, die Schatten alle besuch' ich,
>   Und die Quellen; hinauf irret der Geist und hinab,
> Ruh' erbittend; so flieht das getroffene Wild in die Wälder,
>   Wo es um Mittag sonst sicher im Dunkel geruht;
> Aber nimmer erquikt sein grünes Laager das Herz ihm,
>   jammernd und schlummerlos treibt es der Stachel umher.
> (*StA* 2.1, 71)

Aber auch ohne diese besonders leidvolle Dramatik will eine göttliche
Kraft uns alle über das bloß Vertraute hinaustreiben, was Hölderlin
in dem späten hymnischen Entwurf zu *An die Madonna* ausdrücklich
begrüßt, denn niemand solle wohl

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> [d]ie Amme, die
> Den Tag gebieret
> Verwirren, falsch anklebend
> Der Heimath und der Schwere spottend
> Der Mutter ewig sizen
> Im Schoose. Denn groß ist
> Von dem sie erben den Reichtum. (*StA* 2.1, 214)

Heimatverklärung oder gar Deutschtümelei sind also sicher nicht seine Sache. Bekannt mit den aufklärerischen Ideen von allgemeiner Gleichheit und Würde der Menschen als rechtsfähiger Weltbürger und den zeitgenössischen Diskursen über Kosmopolitismus und Patriotismus,[14] vertritt er schon diesseits des noch höheren Anspruchs der Gedichte nach 1800 einen politisch äußerst wachsamen Universalismus. So bekennt er sich am Neujahrstag 1799, also auch noch lange nach dem blutigen Debakel, in das die Französische Revolution sehr schnell umgeschlagen war,[15] in einem Brief an seinen Halbbruder Karl eindeutig zu grundsätzlicher Weltoffenheit:

> Der günstige Einfluß, den die philosophische und politische Lectüre auf die Bildung unserer Nation haben, ist unstreitig […]. Ich glaube nemlich, daß sich die gewöhnlichsten Tugenden und Mängel der Deutschen auf eine ziemlich bornirte Häuslichkeit reduziren. Sie sind überall *glebae addicti* und die meisten sind auf irgend eine Art, wörtlich oder metaphorisch, an ihre Erdscholle gefesselt […]. Und wie nur der in seiner Stube sich gefällt, der auch im freien Felde lebt, so kann ohne Allgemeinsinn und offnen Blik in die Welt auch das individuelle, jedem eigene Leben nicht bestehen. (*STA* 6.1, 303)[16]

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14 Vgl. hierzu vor allem Polledri 2021.

15 Die Enttäuschung und Ernüchterung über diese Wende in Frankreich, „wo man alle Früchte und Blumen der Menschheit in seinen Hoffnungen wieder aufblühn sah" (*StA* 6.1, 229), kommt im Brief an Ebel vom 10. Januar 1797 deutlich zum Ausdruck. Dabei versucht er dem Freund, der sich damals in Paris aufhielt, Hoffnung zu machen. Komplementär zur Kritik an der Enge der deutschen Verhältnisse und der grundsätzlich ernüchternden Diagnose des europäischen Zeitgeistes traut Hölderlin den Deutschen dort sogar zu, eher als andere „eine künftige Revolution der Gesinnungen und Vorstellungsarten einzuleiten, die alles bisherige schaamroth machen wird". Zu Hölderlins Haltung zur Revolution und seiner republikanischen Position vgl. auch Honold 2005.

16 Die Konvergenz mit Hölderlins Kritik an den Deutschen in der sog. *Scheltrede* im zweiten Band des *Hyperion* (*StA* 3, 153-6) ist offensichtlich. Wahrscheinlich ist Hölderlin in seinem Plädoyer für Weltoffenheit von Fichtes *Vorlesungen über die Bestimmung des Gelehrten* von 1794 und von Kants 1795 erschienener einflussreicher Abhandlung *Zum ewigen Frieden* beeinflusst. Bekanntlich hat Fichte allerdings mit seinen *Reden an die deutsche Nation* von 1807-08 – wie viele andere deutschsprachige Intellektuelle und Künstler der Zeit – angesichts der immer bedrückenderen Expansionspolitik

Wider das „affectirte Geschrei von herzlosem Kosmopolitismus und überspannender Metaphysik" (*StA* 6.1, 303) all derer, „die uns bereden möchten, man dürfe die Augen nicht aufthun, und der Welt, die es immer werth ist, das Herz nicht öffnen, um seine Natürlichkeit beisammen zu behalten", hofft Hölderlin also auf den heilsamen Einfluss der „neuen Philosophie", namentlich der durchaus herausfordernden Kants, „die bis zum Extrem auf Allgemeinheit des Interesses dringt, und das unendliche Streben in der Brust des Menschen aufdekt, und wenn sie schon sich zu einseitig an die große Selbstthätigkeit der Menschennatur hält" (304). Mit anderen Worten, das universalistische Konzept der Autonomie des Subjekts qua praktischer Vernunft bei Kant mag übertrieben sein, ist aber wie eine möglichst „kräftige und sachkundige" Darstellung der politischen Verhältnisse der einzig mögliche Weg aus der deutsche Misere.[17]

Es geht Hölderlin also um Horizonterweiterung, um die Schaffung einer Heimat für seine Landsleute, in der man freier atmen und erfüllter leben kann. Nach seiner Rückkehr aus Bordeaux erläutert er im Brief, den er im Dezember 1803 an den Verleger Friedrich Wilmans schreibt, in welcher Weise er an dieser kulturellen „Umkehr",[18] also Re-volution, mitarbeiten will. Die großen Hymnen, die er schon zuvor komponiert hat, fügen sich in ‚pädagogischer' Absicht ein in sein Projekt vaterländischer Dichtung, die eben höchste poetische Ansprüche stellt:

> Es ist eine Freude, sich dem Leser zu opfern, und sich mit ihm in die engen Schranken unserer noch kinderähnlichen Kultur zu begeben. Übrigens sind Liebeslieder immer müder Flug, denn soweit sind wir noch immer, troz der Verschiedenheit der Stoffe; ein anders ist das hohe und reine Frohloken vaterländischer Gesänge. (436)

Allerdings ist „hohes reines Frohloken" in den *Vaterländischen Gesängen* oft nur sehr verhalten zu spüren, geht es doch darum, erst einmal einen Ausweg aus dem Selbstverlust in der epochalen Not „dürftiger Zeit"[19] zu finden. Wie es der im Zusammenhang mit dem *Empedokles*-Komplex stehende Text *Das untergehende Vaterland* theoretisch zu fassen versucht, ist Halt- und Heimatlosigkeit das Signum

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Napoleons dann eine radikale Wendung zu nationaler Ab- und Ausgrenzung vollzogen. Auch wenn Hölderlin die politischen Entwicklungen zu dieser Zeit wohl im einzelnen nicht mehr bewusst wahrnehmen konnte, so hätte er seine Vision einer umfassenden Friedensordnung wahrscheinlich doch kaum zurückgenommen. Vgl. bes. die große Komposition von *Friedensfeier* und die umfangreichen noch titellosen Entwürfe *Versöhnender der du nimmergeglaubt*.

17 Vgl. *StA* 6.1, 304.

18 Vgl. *StA* 5, 271.

19 Vgl. *StA* 2.1, 94.

von extremen Krisenzeiten oder Zeitenwenden, in denen sich eine für das menschliche Bewusstsein fast nicht mehr zu überbrückende „Lücke" auftut.[20] Es geht darum, neue Authentizität in einer vertikal auf den ‚Himmel' hin orientierten Gesellschaft, also ‚Heimat', zu finden, was allerdings nur in der Wechselbeziehung zum Fremden gelingen kann. Erst vom ihm her lernt man, was überhaupt das Eigene ist. Dessen freie Gestaltung ist dabei das Schwierigste, wie Hölderlin im selben Brief an Böhlendorff vom 4. Dezember 1801 betont:

> Wir lernen nichts schwerer als das Nationelle frei gebrauchen. Und wie ich glaube, ist gerade die Klarheit der Darstellung uns ursprünglich so natürlich wie den Griechen das Feuer vom Himmel. [...] Deßwegen sind die Griechen des heiligen Pathos weniger Meister, weil es ihnen angeboren war, hingegen sind sie vorzüglich in Darstellungsgaabe, von Homer an, weil dieser außerordentliche Mensch seelenvoll genug war, um die abendländische Junonische Nüchternheit für sein Apollonsreich zu erbeuten, und so wahrhaft das fremde sich anzueignen. Bei uns ists umgekehrt. (*StA* 6.1, 425-6)

Die Auseinandersetzung mit der fremden griechischen Hochkultur führt also zu einer wichtigen Einsicht in die eigene kulturelle ‚Tendenz'. Damit ist grundsätzlich schon das produktive Spannungsverhältnis zwischen dem ‚Eigenem' der kulturellen Heimat und dem ‚Fremden' als konstitutiv für die Findung einer wirklich lebendigen Identität erkannt. Hölderlins letzte Elegie *Heimkunft* bewegt sich in dieser Dynamik. Der Dichter ist zunächst besorgt, weil er nicht weiß, ob er für seine Landsleute geeignete und dem Gott „schicklich" erscheinende Töne treffen kann, aber er wagt dann doch, dem Vaterland zuliebe „zu sinnen" und „zu singen":

> Vieles sprach ich zu ihm, denn, was auch Dichtende sinnen
>   Oder singen, es gilt meistens den Engeln und ihm;
> Vieles bat ich, zu lieb dem Vaterlande, damit nicht
>   Ungebeten uns einst plözlich befiele der Geist [...] (*StA* 2.1, 97)

Das schönste Tor zur Heimat ist aber gleichzeitig auch das zur fremden Welt, „wo die Wunder sind":

> Freilich wohl! Das Geburtsland ists, der Boden der Heimat,
>   Was du suchest, ist nahe, begegnet dir schon.
> Und umsonst nicht steht, wie ein Sohn, am wellenumrauschten
>   Thor, und siehet und sucht liebende Nahmen für dich,

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20 Vgl. *StA* 4.1, 283 ff.

> Mit Gesang ein wandernder Mann, glükseeliges Lindau!
>   Eine der gastlichen Pforten des Landes dieß,
> Reizend hinauszugehen in die vielversprechende Ferne,
>   Dort, wo die Wunder sind [...] (*StA* 2.1, 97-8)

Darüber hinaus unterlegt Hölderlin das, was das ‚Nationelle', also die kulturelle Aufgabe des Vaterlands ist, im Sinne der schon früh zusammen mit Hegel und Schelling formulierten Forderung nach einer „Neuen Mytholgie" sogar mit recht eigenwilligen Narrativen.[21] Besonders eindrucksvoll entwirft er in *Die Wanderung* eine Geschichte west-östlicher Verwandtschaft und kulturellen Transfers. In der umfangreichen triadischen Hymne macht sich ein Wanderer auf den Spuren mythischer Vorfahren auf den Weg nach Asien, auch wenn ihm der Abschied vom „glückseligen Suevien", seiner Mutter, die der „glänzenderen" Schwester „Lombardia" jenseits der Alpen in Schönheit nicht nachsteht, schwer fällt, denn es gilt ja: „[S]chwer verläßt, | Was nahe dem Ursprung wohnet, den Ort". „Ich aber will dem Kaukasos zu!" (*StA* 2.1, 138) ruft das lyrische Ich, das als Dichter frei sein will wie die Schwalben. Der Weg führt den Wanderer auf seiner imaginären Reise zu den „lieben Verwandten", den Griechen, die der Sage nach geboren wurden aus der Verbindung des „deutschen Geschlechts", das sich donauabwärts von Nordwesten nach Osten bewegt habe, mit den „Kinder der Sonn'" aus dem Süden. Die aus der friedlichen Vereinigung entstandene schöne Welt der Griechen zu sehen, ist der wandernde Poet gekommen, aber bleiben will er nicht, auch wenn die eigene Heimat „unfreundlich" und „verschlossen" erscheint:

> Doch nicht zu bleiben gedenk ich.
> Unfreundlich ist und schwer zu gewinnen
> Die Verschlossene, der ich entkommen, die Mutter.
> Von ihren Söhnen einer, der Rhein,
> Mit Gewalt wollt' er ans Herz ihr stürzen und schwand
> Der Zurükgestoßene, niemand weiß, wohin, in die Ferne. (141)

Nein, der Wanderer zwischen den Welten verfolgt eine andere Absicht: Er möchte die „Grazien Griechenlands" einladen, in seine Heimat zu kommen, um die eigenen Lande zum Blühen zu bringen, falls ihnen der Weg nicht zu weit erscheint:

> Doch so nicht wünscht' ich gegangen zu seyn
> Von ihr und nur, euch einzuladen,
> Bin ich zu euch, ihr Gratien Griechenlands,
> Ihr Himmelstöchter, gegangen,

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21 Vgl. *StA* 4.1, 298 ff.

> Daß, wenn die Reise zu weit nicht ist,
> Zu uns ihr kommet, ihr Holden! (141)

In der großen *Rheinhymne*, die wohl ebenfalls ab dem Frühjahr 1801 in Hauptwil in der damals zum Ideal freiheitlicher Verfassung idealisierten Schweiz entworfen wurde, wird der Strom selbst zum Protagonisten. Wie überhaupt viele Flüsse von Hölderlin in topographisch genau beobachtete Metaphern grenzübergreifender natur- und kulturgeschichtlicher Verläufe verwandelt werden, so erscheint der „edelste der Ströme", der „freigeborene Rhein" hier als gefesselter Genius, der, an der Quelle noch jung, jammernd und tobend um Erlösung von den ihn in seiner schöpferischen Kraft hemmenden natürlichen Beschränkungen fleht. Eigentlich will er gen Osten fließen, muss aber gebändigt werden, denn er versteht seine eigentliche Bestimmung zunächst noch nicht, wobei sein beeindruckend mächtiger Ursprung auch später rätselhaft bleibt:

> Ein Räthsel ist Reinentsprungenes. Auch
> Der Gesang kaum darf es enthüllen. Denn
> Wie du anfiengst, wirst du bleiben,
> So viel auch wirket die Noth,
> Und die Zucht, das meiste nemlich
> Vermag die Geburt,
> Und der Lichtstral, der
> Dem Neugebornen begegnet. (*StA* 2.1, 143)

Prägung durch den Anfang, Freiheitsdrang und Beschränkung wechseln sich auch bei den Menschen ab, sie kennen ihr ‚Haus', sind dennoch vor allem vom ersten ‚Lichtstrahl', der sie trifft, stärker bestimmt als von sonst allem, aber der Rhein ist noch anders:

> Wo aber ist einer,
> Um frei zu bleiben
> Sein Leben lang, und des Herzens Wunsch
> Allein zu erfüllen, so
> Aus günstigen Höhn, wie der Rhein,
> Und so aus heiligem Schoose
> Glüklich geboren, wie jener? (143)

Dennoch passt die Vorstellung von einem absolutem Subjekt nicht einmal auf den mächtigsten der deutschen Ströme, was von göttlichen Mächten so eingerichtet ist, um ihn, selbst ein Halbgott, zu schonen und seine kulturstiftende Potentialität fruchtbar werden zu lassen:

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> Ein Gott will aber sparen den Söhnen
> Das eilende Leben und lächelt,
> Wenn unenthaltsam, aber gehemmt
> Von heiligen Alpen, ihm
> In der Tiefe, wie jener, zürnen die Ströme.
> [...]
> Und schön ists, wie er drauf,
> Nachdem er die Berge verlassen,
> Stillwandelnd sich im deutschen Lande
> Begnüget und das Sehnen stillt
> Im guten Geschäffte [...] (*StA* 2.1, 144)

Die geschaffene heimatliche Landschaft ist aber kein statischer Raum, denn Begrenzung und Weitung, Ordnung und Auflösung bilden den Rhythmus des Lebens,

> [b]ei Tage, wenn
> Es fieberhaft und angekettet das
> Lebendige scheinet oder auch
> Bei Nacht, wenn alles gemischt
> Ist ordnungslos und wiederkehrt
> Uralte Verwirrung. (148)

Die deutschen Lande sind für Hölderlin also tatsächlich ein Identifikationsraum, der aber wie die ganze Welt fluktuiert und sich immer neu strukturieren muss. Welche spezifische vaterländische Aufgabe ihnen zukommt, macht Hölderlin bekanntlich besonders in *Germanien* deutlich.[22] Die Rede des göttlichen Adlers, der synchronisch und diachronisch alle Kulturräume der Erde überflogen hat, blickt, sich nun verjüngend, in die Zukunft und erwartet von Germanien eine Friedensmission, universale Völkerverständigung und weit Besseres als Gewalt und Krieg.

In ein solches Vaterland wollte Hölderlin wohl zurückkehren. Ja, es war ihm unendlich schwer gefallen, seine Heimat überhaupt zu verlassen, wie er vor dem Abschied an Böhlendorff schreibt:

> Ich bin jetzt voll Abschieds. Ich habe lange nicht geweint. Aber es hat mich bittre Thränen gekostet, da ich mich entschloß, mein Vaterland noch jezt zu verlassen, vielleicht auf immer. Denn was hab' ich lieberes auf der Welt? Aber sie können mich nicht brauchen. Deutscher will und muß ich übrigens bleiben und wenn mich die Herzens- und Nahrungsnoth nach Otaheiti triebe. (*StA* 6.1, 427-8)

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22 Vgl. *StA* 2.1, 151 ff. Vgl. hierzu insg. bes. Polledri 2021, 83-8.

Nach wenigen Monaten in Frankreich ist er wieder zuhause in Nürtingen. „Es war mir nöthig, nach manchen Erschütterungen und Rührungen der Seele mich vestzusezen, auf einige Zeit, und ich lebe indessen in meiner Vaterstadt" (*StA* 6.1, 433), teilt er dem Freund im November 1802 mit, wahrscheinlich mit ähnlichen Zweifeln wie denen, die das lyrische Ich bereits in *Die Heimath* beunruhigt hatten, nämlich darüber, ob das Geleistete ausreicht, um Linderung von den Verwundungen des Lebens erwarten zu dürfen:

> Froh kehrt der Schiffer heim an den stillen Strom,
>   Von Inseln fernher, wenn er geerndtet hat;
>   So käm, auch ich zur Heimath, hätt, ich
>   Güter so viele, wie Laid, geerndtet.
>
> Ihr theuern Ufer, die mich erzogen einst,
>   Stillt ihr der Liebe Leiden, versprecht ihr mir,
>   Ihr Wälder meiner Jugend, wenn ich
>   Komme, die Ruhe noch einmal wieder? (StA 2.1, 19)

Jetzt ist es anders. Die heimatliche Natur vor allem scheint endlich die Hoffnung zu erfüllen, die Hölderlin mit der Rückkehr in sein Vaterland immer schon verbunden hatte, nämlich endlich Ruhe, Sicherheit und Schutz zu finden.[23] Hölderlins langer *Nostos* mündet wieder in die anfängliche so intime wie ergreifende Vertrautheit mit der Natur der Heimat, die in sich aber nun die ganze Welt versammelt, denn umsonst war der Weg nicht:

> Die heimathliche Natur ergreift mich auch um so mächtiger, je mehr ich sie studire. Das Gewitter, nicht blos in seiner höchsten Erscheinung, sondern in eben dieser Ansicht, als Macht und als Gestalt, in den übrigen Formen des Himmels, das Licht in seinem Wirken nationell und als Prinzip in der Schiksaalsweise bildend, daß uns etwas heilig ist, sein Drang im Kommen und Gehen, das Karakteristische der Wälder und das Zusammentreffen in einer Gegend von verschiedenen Karakteren der Natur, daß alle heiligen Orte der Erde zusammen sind um einen Ort und das philosophische Licht um mein Fenster ist jezt meine Freude; daß ich behalten möge, wie ich gekommen bin, bis hierher! (*StA* 6.1, 433)[24]

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23 Zu erinnern wäre hier z.B. an das frühe Gedicht *Die Stille*, *StA* 1.1, 42-5.

24 Johann Kreuzer deutet die Freude am „philosophischen Licht" zutreffend im Sinne eines „erkennenden Selbstbezugs", der aus dem Wunsch erwächst, die „gelebte Zeit möge sich zu seinem Sinnganzen zusammenfinden" (2013, 61-2).

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Sozusagen aus hymnischer Höhe entwirft Hölderlin dann auch in *Patmos* den weiten Bogen zwischen Aufbruch und Heimkehr: „0 Fittige gieb uns, treuesten Sinns | Hinüberzugehn und wiederzukehren" (*StA* 2.1, 165; 173).

Mnemosyne, wahrscheinlich Hölderlins letzte Hymne, scheint hingegen die dort durch die poetische Erinnerung der gesamten antiken und abendländisch-christlichen Tradition erreichte Stabilität noch einmal infrage zu stellen.[25] „Lang ist | die Zeit, es ereignet sich aber | Das Wahre" (*StA* 2.1, 193; 195)? Besonders die im Titel des vorliegenden Beitrags aus der sog. ‚Zeichenstrophe' ausgewählten Verse stehen in ziemlich schroffem Kontrast dazu und klingen eher wie ein resignativer Versuch der Selbstbeschwichtigung. Den zitierten Anfangsversen der heftig umstrittenen Strophe vorangesetzt ist noch ein weiterer Vers, so dass das uns Heutigen ganz aus der Seele gesprochen zu scheinende *Incipit* lautet:

> Ein Zeichen sind wir, deutungslos
> Schmerzlos sind wir und haben fast
> Die Sprache in der Fremde verloren. (195)

Die Überlegungen zu Hölderlins Verhältnis zur (verlorenen) Heimat hier noch einmal neu anzusetzen, ist wegen dieser gefühlten Affinität zu unserer aktuellen Gefühlslage fast unwiderstehlich. Es sind in der Tat Verse, so schön und tragisch, dass man ungerne auf sie verzichten würde,[26] was ja vielleicht auch gar nicht nötig ist, da sie durchaus in das Gesamtkonzept der Komposition integrierbar erscheinen, vor allem wenn man sie mit der Schlusspassage der ‚Früchtestrophe' kombiniert, was nicht nur wegen des den beiden Stellen gemeinsamen Gebrauchs des Personalpronomens ‚wir' sinnvoll erscheint, sondern auch wegen der inhaltlichen Kohärenz. Dort heißt es ja nämlich:

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[25] Es ist hier nicht möglich, auf die immensen textphilologischen und interpretatorischen Herausforderungen und die heftigen Auseinandersetzungen einzugehen, die sich aufgrund des schwierigen Befunds der Überlieferung ergeben haben. Einen allerdings selbstapologetisch gefärbten umfassenden Überblick hierzu bietet Roland-Jensen 1998.

[26] Vgl. Reitani 2020d, 106. Hölderlin verbindet seine Vorstellung vom Tragischen tatsächlich fundamental mit der vom „Zeichen", wobei er die antike Tragik anscheinend eher in der faktisch tödlichen Auslöschung des tragischen Subjekts sieht, in der das Zeichen „= 0" gesetzt wird (*StA* 4.1, 274), wenn das Göttliche es in seiner voller Macht unmittelbar wie in feurigem Blitz ergreift. Das moderne Tragische hingegen könnte eher im unspektakuläreren Sinne dieser Verse auf den stilleren mittelbaren Verlust des Selbst in völligem ‚untreuen' Vergessen von Mensch und Gott aufgefasst werden.

> [...]   Und immer
> Ins Ungebundene gehet eine Sehnsucht. Vieles aber ist
> Zu behalten. Und Noth die Treue.
> Vorwärts aber und rükwärts wollen wir
> Nicht sehn. Uns wiegen lassen, wie
> Auf schwankem Kahne der See. (197)

Nun ist das Gedicht aber Mnemosyne gewidmet, der Göttin der Erinnerung, die zugleich eine Naturgottheit, eine Nymphe ist, die durch eine glückliche erotische Begegnung mit Zeus zur Mutter aller Musen wurde, und es ist schwer vorstellbar, dass sie von diesem dann zurück in die Unterwelt der Titanen verstoßen wird.[27] Die Negativität richtig einzuordnen, von der das Gedicht nach den ersten Versen der ‚Früchtestrophe' bestimmt ist, ist kaum einzuordnen, wenn man die positive Klammer außer Acht lässt, die zuletzt doch in eine andere Richtung weist:

> Reif sind, in Feuer getaucht, gekochet
> Die Frücht und auf der Erde geprüfet und ein Gesez ist
> Daß alles hineingeht, Schlangen gleich,
> Prophetisch, träumend auf
> Den Hügeln des Himmels. (*StA* 2.1, 197)

So beginnt die wahrscheinliche angedachte Endfassung des Gedichts mit der Feststellung einer durch harte Prüfung gegangenen Reifung, die alles versöhnt und versammelt auf himmlischen Hügeln. Davor aber liegt ein leidvoller Weg, ein Ringen um Selbstbewahrung in Zeiten, in denen die Menschen erschöpft und ermattet nirgendwohin mehr schauen wollen, ja passives Vergessen eigentlich als einzige Option übrigzubleiben scheint. Bis auf die affirmative, fast gnomische Feststellung „Vieles aber ist | Zu behalten. Und Noth die Treue" fügt sich hier alles zusammen zu einer äußerst negativen Diagnose der Lage einer Gruppe von Menschen, zu denen sich das lyrische Ich, das später in der letzten Strophe, der ‚Achilles-Strophe', dann aber in der Singularform des Personalpronomens spricht, zunächst zählt, auch wenn es offensichtlich weiterblicken kann als die anderen, die sich nur noch treiben lassen wollen wie auf einem schwankenden Kahn auf dem Meer.[28] Dieser Schwebezustand Welt- und Selbst-

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27 Vgl. Reitani 2020d, 114-22.

28 Entscheidend ist hier wohl, in welchen Referenzzusammenhang man das Bild vom schwanken Kahn auf der oder dem See bringt. Der häufige Verweis auf Rousseaus berühmte fünfte Promenade in *Les Rêveries*, der angesichts von Hölderlins Verehrung für den französischen Denker und Dichter zwar naheliegt, könnte auch irreführen. Wie Roland-Jensen trotz des heftigen Gegenwinds, der ihm in der Kritik entgegengeschlagen ist, überzeugend argumentiert, ist es plausibler, das erst in der Reinschrift

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vergessens mag zwar auf den ersten Blick als sehr heilsame Entlastung sowohl von der unstillbaren Unruhe der Sehnsucht aus allen festen Bindungen heraus ins Offene als auch von der Last von Scheitern erscheinen, von der vorher die Rede ist. Aber der Preis solcher Ruhe ist hoch: Schmerzlos sind wir geworden, empfindungslos, und haltlos, bloß noch ein Irgendetwas, ein Zeichen, das sich selbst und auch sonst niemand mehr versteht, sprachlos und stumm. Ermutigen kann hier nur noch das kleine, aber hoffnungsvolle Wort ‚fast', das die Sprachlosigkeit leicht, aber entscheidend relativiert. Und in der Tat, der Dichter spricht ja noch, er weiß vieles zu erinnern und in der ‚Fragestrophe' sogar die „guten Tageszeichen" der heimatlichen Natur zu evozieren, die hier offensichtlich nicht mehr eine griechische, sondern eher eine ‚nordische', eine hesperische ist:

> Wie aber liebes? Sonnenschein
> Am Boden sehen wir und trokenen Staub
> Und heimatlich die Schatten der Wälder und es blühet
> An Dächern der Rauch, bei alter Krone
> Der Thürme, friedsam; gut sind nemlich
> Hat gegenredend die Seele
> Ein Himmlisches verwundet, die Tageszeichen.
> Denn Schnee wie Majenblumen
> Das Edelmüthige, wo
> Es seie, bedeutend, glänzet auf
> Der grünen Wiese
> Der Alpen [...] (*StA* 2.1, 197-8)

Jetzt wird klarer, warum *Die Nymphe Mnemosyne* tatsächlich zu den vaterländischen Gesängen gezählt werden kann. Das Gedicht versucht in den verschiedenen Ansätzen zu erklären, wie es zu einem solchen epochalen Drama überhaupt kommen kann, das als Gegenreaktion die völlige Paralyse des Handlungswillens und Empfindens der Menschen provoziert. Die zunächst von den himmlischen Mächten „gefangenen Element, und alten Geseze der Erd", so der Text, bewegen sich plötzlich auf „bösen Pfaden" wieder „unrecht, | Wie Rosse" (197). Entfacht ist erneut ein „Streit am Himmel" (195), der Menschen und Götter einander entfremdet, was auch die Sprache wie überhaupt die Fähigkeit zu fühlen versehrt, ja fast auslöscht.

   Hölderlins Hymne für das hesperische Vaterland wirft sich sozusagen in diese Bresche, versucht für die Zeitgenossen, angesichts

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hinzugefügte, eigentlich kaum für das Meer geeignete Wassergefährt nicht im Sinne der ‚Kahn-Idylle' zu deuten, sondern als in seiner Unangemessenheit parodiertes, prekäres Fahrzeug, auf dem wir uns zwar wiegen lassen wollen, das aber in Wirklichkeit gefährlich schwankt. Vgl. Roland-Jensenn 1998, 79.

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des drohenden Untergangs in Vergessen und Selbstverlust eine Zukunftsperspektive, irgendein „Bleiben im Leben" (*StA* 2.1, 7) zu ermöglichen. Schweren Abschied muss man dafür nehmen von dem längst untergegangenen Vaterland der Griechen und seinen in einzigartiger Dichtung erinnerten Heroen, soll die von „einem Himmlischen" „gegenredend" verwundete Seele heilen. Nach der Erinnerung an die fern ihrer Heimat in Troja gestorbenen griechischen Helden und danach an die Liebesbegegnung zwischen Zeus und Mnemosyne schließt die Hymne mit der Ermahnung, sich zu fassen, die eigene Seele zu schonen und eben nicht in wehmütiger, lähmender Trauer über das Verlorene zu versinken:

> […]   Unwillig nemlich,
> Sind Himmlische, wenn einer nicht die Seele schonend sich
> Zusammengenommen, aber er muß doch; dem
> Gleich fehlet die Trauer. (StA 2.1, 194)

Hölderlins Weltsicht erscheint so weit genug, um der Gefahr des Verlusts von Identität und Heimat und selbst der äußersten Entfremdung standzuhalten und kulturübergreifend überall noch Gutes zu finden, denn für ihn ist ja letztlich alles von Liebe bewegt. Die Verwundungen unseres endlichen Lebens führen schließlich nicht ins Nirgendwo:

> […]   Die blutenden Fittige
>   [sind ja
>   Schon genesen, verjüngt leben die Hoffnungen all.
>   Großes zu finden, ist viel, ist viel noch übrig, und wer so
>   Liebte, gehet, er muß, gehet zu Göttern die Bahn. (*StA* 2.1, 78-9)

Aber auch wenn das Wohnen auf der Erde und die Aussichten für die Zukunft des Vaterlands in Hölderlins spätester Zeit immer prekärer werden,[29] so bleibt Heimat für ihn in persönlicher wie poetischer Perspektive nicht einfach nur eine abstrakte Größe oder Schimäre, sondern als durch die Erfahrungen eines Lebens in einem schöpferischen Prozess angeeigneter äußerer und innerer Raum sinnsuchender Selbstverortung, manchmal auch nur als Asyl oder Refugium.

Ob Menschen sind wie die Stare, die zwar jedes Jahr ins „Olivenland" fliegen, um zu überwintern, aber wieder aufbrechen aus „liebenswürdiger Fremde", weil sie die Heimat „spüren" und

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29 Diese Zurücknahme der Erwartungen spiegelt die bange Frage: „Wo wollen wir bleiben?" im späten Fragment *Der Adler* (*StA* 2.1, 229) wider. Die Verse 27-30 beantworten sie sehr bescheiden mit: „Will einer wohnen / So sei es an Treppen, / Und wo ein Häuslein hinabhängt / Am Wasser halte dich auf". Vgl. Polledri 2021, 92 ff.

auf der Rückreise zur Orientierung erst einmal nur „das nächste Beste" suchen, um dann anzukommen?[30] Auch ob die im Homburger Folioheft auf Blatt 38 notierte rätselhafte Zeile „Und niemand weiß" in Zusammenhang steht mit dem noch einmal notierten Titel *Die Heimath*, der vielleicht zu den unvollständigen Versen auf dem folgenden Blatt gehört, bleibt ebenso offen wie der Kontext eines anderen Bruchstücks:

> Unterschiedenes ist
> gut. Ein jeder
> und es hat
> Ein jeder das Seine. (*StA* 2.1, 327)

Individualität, Konturen und Charakteristika verlangen eine gewisse Abgrenzung, nicht aber Ausgrenzung oder Verabsolutierung. Das frühere Epigramm *Wurzel allen Übels* ergänzt den Gedanken von der notwendigen Unterscheidung:

> Einig zu seyn, ist göttlich und gut; woher ist die Sucht denn
> Unter den Menschen, daß nur Einer und Eines nur sei?
> (*StA* 1.1, 305)

„Keine Kraft im Himmel und auf Erden" sollte ja monarchisch sein, was „erste Bedingung alles Lebens und aller Organisation" (*StA* 6.1, 300) ist, hatte Hölderlin am 24. Dezember 1798 an Sinclair geschrieben, ganz im Geist von Hyperions allversöhnendem Credo:

> Eines zu seyn mit Allem, was lebt! Mit diesem Wort legt die Tugend den zürnenden Harnisch, der Geist des Menschen den Zepter weg, und alle Gedanken schwinden vor dem Bild der ewigeinigen Welt […] meines Herzens Asyl. (*StA* 3, 9)

Als er in einem allerdings sehr bedenklichen Zustand endlich wieder irgendwie zuhause ist, erwächst in der vertrauten Landschaft „vom Abgrund nemlich" ein ähnliches neues Alleinheitsgefühl:[31]

> Ein wilder Hügel aber stehet über dem Abhang
> Meiner Gärten. Kirschbäume. Scharfer Othem aber wehet
> Um die Löcher des Felses. Allda bin ich
> Alles miteinander. (*StA* 2.1, 250)

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30   Vgl. *StA* 2.1, 234 ff.

31   Zwar beginnt der hymnische Entwurf mit einer Evokation französischer Landschaft, dann aber wechselt die Perspektive nach Frankfurt hin, das geradezu als „Nabel der Welt" erscheint. Vgl. *StA* 2.1, 250.

Wieder weitet sich die Perspektive ins Unendliche. Hölderlins Vorstellung von Heimat mag zwar vielleicht irgendwie unzeitgemäß erscheinen, doch berührt sie eigentlich zeitlos immer und immer wieder und überall. Luigi Reitani hat es so formuliert:

> Es geht nicht darum, Hölderlin künstlich zu re-aktualisieren, ihn in einem neuen Gewand aus einem anderen Jahrhundert zu retten. […] Denn möglicherweise ist das Problem dieser Dichtung nicht, dass sie ,zu schwierig' ist, sondern dass ihre fragile Einfachheit unsere Sicherheiten in Frage stellt. Wovon spricht nämlich Hölderlin, wenn nicht von uns? Von unserem Versuch, einen nahen Gott zu fassen, der sich uns nicht zeigt? Von den Mauern, die uns umgeben und immer noch sprachlos und kalt da stehen? Vom Leiden der Menschen und der Völker? (Reitani 2020e, 18)

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Recensioni

Francesco Marroni
George Bernard Shaw: commediografo e saltimbanco

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George Bernard Shaw (1856-1950), nato a Dublino da famiglia protestante come il coevo Oscar Wilde, e come lui emigrato ventenne a Londra, è stato, a detta di molti, il maggiore protagonista della drammaturgia inglese del Novecento.

Dopo un infelice esordio come romanziere, la sua carriera teatrale iniziò nel 1892 con *Widowers' Houses* poi inclusa nei *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant*, una serie comprendente la contestatissima *Mrs Warren's Profession* (1894) in cui Shaw affrontava un argomento scottante come la prostituzione; *Arms and The Man* (1894); *Candida* (1895); *The Man of Destiny*; *You can Never Tell* (1897); e il più tardo *Pygmalion* (1912), portato trionfalmente sugli schermi da George Kukor nel 1964 con il titolo *My Fair Lady* ispirato all'omonimo musical.

Coerentemente con il suo spirito polemico e all'ambizione di dare vita a un vasto programma di rigenerazione sociale, Shaw fu fautore di un 'teatro di idee' che da un lato accoglieva la portata rivoluzionaria di Henrik Ibsen, dall'altro era la versione moderna della *comedy of manners* della Restaurazione, scintillante di aforismi e paradossi.

Soprattutto nei vent'anni che precedono la prima guerra mondiale, le sue commedie brillanti, argute e prive di qualsiasi concessione

al sentimentalismo, ebbero grande risonanza e in molti casi, per il loro anticonformismo e franca discussione di temi caldi, inclusa la liberazione sessuale, attirarono gli strali della censura.

Eppure, specialmente dopo la sua morte, complici soprattutto John Osborne che fu uno dei suoi più feroci denigratori, e George Orwell, il quale nel 1933 definì Shaw «un Carlyle annacquato», su questo grande autore, insignito del premio Nobel per la letteratura nel 1925, è colpevolmente sceso l'oblio. Al punto che, scrive sempre Marroni, «nei manuali di letteratura il commediografo è quasi scomparso e anche nelle più recenti storie del teatro lo spazio che gli viene riservato si riduce a un paio di paragrafi rispetto a capitoli interi dedicati a uomini di teatro che hanno avuto un impatto molto minore sui fenomeni culturali del Novecento».

Da questa amara constatazione muove il pregevole studio di Francesco Marroni, già curatore di un ponderoso volume dedicato a Shaw (Bompiani, 2022). Egli restituisce la complessa e anche contraddittoria personalità del drammaturgo attraverso un dialogo serrato con quei filosofi, scrittori e artisti che contribuirono a forgiarne il pensiero, sostanzialmente utopistico, e la poetica: da Nordau, l'autore di *Degeneration* (1892) contro cui Shaw scrisse *The Sanity of Art* (1907), a Schopenhauer e Carlyle; da Dickens a Ruskin, che Shaw sentiva spiriti affini soprattutto per l'accento sull'importanza del valore educativo dell'arte.

Il titolo del volume, che si articola in sei densi ma agili capitoli, si rifà a una autodefinizione di Shaw il quale, nella prefazione a *Three Plays for Puritans* (1900) scriveva: «I am a natural-born mountebank», una dichiarazione che bene riassume la sua vocazione di artista desideroso di sedurre e convertire il pubblico alla sua religione progressista con l'arte del paradosso e dell'esagerazione. Shaw era infatti persuaso che il palcoscenico fosse la sede migliore per condurre la sua battaglia contro le ingiustizie sociali, la corruzione, e la devastazione del paesaggio conseguenti la crescente industrializzazione.

Prima di consacrarsi al teatro, una volta giunto a Londra nel 1876, Shaw era diventato membro di spicco della Fabian Society, che propugnava un socialismo riformista non esente da richiami al marxismo, e per cui scrisse opuscoli politici ed economici. Di questa associazione, cui aderirono fra gli altri H.G. Wells, Leonard e Virginia Woolf, faceva parte anche il poeta, artista e agitatore sociale William Morris, con il quale Shaw condivise la polemica nei confronti del capitalismo e della disgregazione sociale a esso conseguente – preoccupazione che fu dei Preraffaelliti i quali, contro l'accademismo della cultura ufficiale e i mali della società industriale propugnavano un'arte ispirata alla natura individuata nell'opera dei pittori del passato antecedenti a Raffaello. Non a caso, nel 1898 Shaw definì *Candida* la sua moderna commedia preraffaellita.

Oltre a essere stato commediografo, nella sua lunga vita e

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carriera – scrisse fino a novant'anni – Shaw si dedicò all'oratoria e al giornalismo in cui, con accenti da predicatore puritano, profuse il suo slancio utopico e riformista insieme alla critica corrosiva dei valori della sua società.

Inoltre, Shaw fu critico drammatico – del 1891 è *The Quintessence of Ibsenism*, il suo saggio più famoso – e anche critico musicale. Iniziò la sua attività a trentatré anni firmandosi con lo pseudonimo 'Corno di Bassetto'. Il suo lavoro più noto in questo ambito è *The Perfect Wagnerite* (1898) sulla tetralogia di Wagner, ritenuto un uomo di genio al pari di Schopenhauer e Nietzsche. Da questi, dal pensiero di Samuel Butler e soprattutto di Jean-Baptiste Lamarck, Shaw, in aperta polemica con il determinismo e il meccanicismo di Darwin, derivò l'idea che il cambiamento dipenda dalla volontà dell'organismo e che il motore dell'evoluzione sia una forza vitale, la *Life Force* per il cui tramite si attua il progresso del genere umano verso una società più equa. L'interprete principale di questa posizione ideologica era il Superuomo nietzschiano che troverà espressione nel play *Man and Superman* (1903).

Per quanto riguarda i modelli letterari, oltre al già citato Ibsen, nel pantheon di Shaw figurano il puritano John Bunyan e Anton Čechov, il grande innovatore della scena teatrale europea che gli ispirò *Heartbreak House: A Fantasia in the Russian Manner on English Themes* (1919), una sorta di riscrittura edoardiana del *Giardino dei ciliegi*.

Infine, in un autore sempre in lotta contro i falsi idoli vittoriani e ogni forma di rappresentazione inverosimile della realtà, non stupisce la difesa della fotografia per 'la valenza di verità' e autenticità insite in questo nuovo strumento. Un interesse che si accompagna e si salda con l'ammirazione di Shaw per Rembrandt, un artista molto lontano dai canoni del gusto dominante. Al celebre dipinto *Lezione di anatomia del dottor Nicolaes Tulp* in cui il chirurgo e i suoi colleghi, i committenti stessi del quadro, sono ritratti come in un'istantanea, non in pose artificiose, ma naturali e spontanee, Francesco Marroni dedica un intero, affascinante capitolo, che ha l'autonomia di un racconto, ma è felicemente legato al disegno d'insieme. Il quadro, che figura nella commedia *The Philanderer* (1893), testimonia la venerazione di Shaw per il maestro olandese assurto a supremo modello artistico per l'accentuazione drammatica dell'azione e lo sguardo realistico, perfino spietato sulle cose.

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Raymond Heitz, Anne Feler, Stefan Hulfeld, Matthias Mansky
Theater und Freimaurerei im deutschen Sprachraum im 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert

Stefania Sbarra
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Non si può pensare il Settecento tedesco senza gettare uno sguardo sulla massoneria e sulla estensione delle sue ramificazioni nella borghesia, negli ambienti vicino alle corti e naturalmente nella letteratura che essi esprimono, dove il dialogo tra le istanze dell'illuminismo, le spinte riformistiche delle logge e le tensioni politiche e religiose che generano è pervasivo. Il merito di questo volume risiede nell'ampliamento significativo dell'orizzonte massonico nel teatro di lingua tedesca fino ai primi anni del diciannovesimo secolo, e nell'attenzione tributata a quegli autori minori che confluiscono per lo più nella categoria della letteratura triviale o di intrattenimento, categoria sempre più interessante nella ricostruzione delle reti culturali e della storia delle idee dell'epoca.

I saggi sono divisi in tre sezioni: la prima è dedicata all'analisi di opere specifiche di un canone minore; la seconda si volge all'interazione tra teatro, massoneria e vita pubblica; la terza, infine, sposta

l'attenzione sulle voci critiche e le polemiche di cui questa produzione drammatica è vettore tra il Settecento e il Novecento.

Raymond Heitz individua nel dramma cavalleresco un genere teatrale apprezzato da alcuni scrittori vicini alla massoneria che riconducono le origini del movimento settecentesco all'ordine dei templari, le cui forme rituali e simboliche ne costituiscono un precedente. Ecco allora che drammi come *Die Tempelherren* (1788) di Johann Nepomuk Ritter von Kalchberg e *Die Löwenritter* di Karl Friedrich Hensler (1799) sono l'occasione per illuminare un aspetto della storia teatrale austriaca poco studiato che contribuisce a ricercare l'origine della massoneria ben prima della sua fondazione in Inghilterra nel 1717, arrivando fino ad Adamo o agli antichi Egizi. Centrale, in questo contesto, il celebre *Discours* di Ramsay (1737), che dichiarando i crociati i padri fondatori della massoneria, ne legittima la variante aristocratica e cavalleresca aprendo la strada alle sottovarianti templare, diffusasi poi anche in Germania grazie a Karl Gotthlef von Hund. Heitz colloca il fenomeno da un lato sullo sfondo di una ripresa particolarmente feconda degli studi medievali all'inizio del Settecento francese e austriaco, e dall'altro sullo sfondo della travagliata storia della massoneria austriaca e tedesca, che prima con la crisi del 1785 e poi con la Rivoluzione francese è vieppiù osteggiata da sovrani sempre più ostili alle istanze dell'Illuminismo.

Di un testo la cui pubblicazione si colloca a cavallo del fatale 1789 si occupa Daniele Vecchiato che ricorda il motivo del tribunale della feme (*Vehme*) nel dramma di Ferdinand Huber *Das geheime Gericht* (1788-90). Il dramma è il pretesto per una analisi a tutto campo della fortuna di un motivo. Rilevando nella letteratura di consumo una tale popolarità del tribunale segreto da suggerire l'esistenza di un sottogenere del dramma cavalleresco, Vecchiato legge questa congiuntura alla luce di un felice connubio tra il soggetto e la sua intrinseca teatralità: la dimensione coreografica, assieme ai ripetuti percorsi di iniziazione all'interno dei tribunali segreti, è fatta per il palcoscenico. Inoltre, qui si fa strada quella estetizzazione dell'arcano che insinua quasi inavvertitamente in un discorso ancora tutto tardo illuminista le poetiche del meraviglioso. La giustificazione storica della feme come momento di giurisdizione correttivo o compensatorio nelle periferie dell'Impero, incontra infatti la chiamata schilleriana a un teatro come istituzione morale in cui negoziare modelli sociali e politici ideali e, nel contempo, educare gli spettatori ai valori della grande utopia illuminista.

Gérard Laudin offre una lettura del lessico massone di tre *pièce* di August von Kotzebue: *Der Freimaurer* (1818), *Die Sonnenjungfrau* (1790) e *Die Spanier in Peru* (1795). Se l'interesse della commedia tarda risiede tutto nella permanenza, in chiave satirica, di generici ideali illuministici nell'ex massone, è nei due drammi di ambientazione peruviana degli anni Novanta che Laudin individua un confronto vitale

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con il sistema di valori massonici, coniugato con la recente critica alla colonizzazione spagnola di Marmontel e di Voltaire. Laudin mette in luce una fitta rete di rimandi intertestuali, da Raynal, Gebler, Herder e Schiller, e suggerisce la matrice massonica degli ideali veicolati da questi drammi, riconoscibile per il pubblico dell'epoca anche in assenza di espliciti riferimenti alla massoneria. Ed è proprio nelle aspettative del pubblico che si risolve la sostanza, e con essa il limite, dei drammi di Kotzebue, ove la separazione manichea tra buoni e cattivi risponde all'esigenza di una vulgata in cui sensibilità e principi dell'Illuminismo siano didascalicamente leggibili.

La seconda parte del volume si apre con il contributo di Matthias Mansky, che a partire dalla figura di Philipp von Gebler illustra la convergenza tra riforma del teatro in senso borghese e istanze massoniche nella Vienna giuseppina. Eminente funzionario della corte asburgica, in prima linea nelle riforme dello stato in materia sociale, religiosa e penale, von Gebler rappresenta nel *Thamos, König von Egypten* (1774) un prodotto culturale molto rappresentativo di una nuova classe di funzionari dello stato di estrazione ora borghese, ora aristocratica, che riconosce nei propri omologhi il pubblico ideale. In questo momento il palcoscenico diventa in Austria una sorta di secondo pulpito dal quale tenere una predica edificante per governanti e governati con i mezzi dell'arte, e in questo senso il dramma di Gebler, che esibisce nell'ambientazione egizia la sua matrice massonica, è un'azione politica in cui trionfa il bene comune grazie all'abnegazione di un re illuminato il cui valore supremo è il benessere del popolo. Mansky mette in luce tra l'altro la struttura drammaturgica del *Thamos* improntata al concetto centrale della segretezza massonica, da cui nasce giocoforza il profilo del massone come di un *homo duplex*, un uomo cioè costretto e disposto ad agire su due piani paralleli, uno visibile e uno invisibile.

Gianluca Paolucci si concentra su Friedrich L. Schröder, e mostra come il suo impegno nella riforma del teatro da un lato e della ritualità massonica dall'altro, siano intrecciati in ragione del potenziale performativo della prassi massonica. Potenziale ben chiaro alla cultura di Weimar, come dimostra la lettura del *Wilhelm Meister* goethiano, che riconduce a un'unica matrice utopico-pedagogica le aspirazioni massoniche e il progetto weimariano di una educazione estetica.

Albert Meier sceglie una contestualizzazione del libretto del *Flauto magico* e riporta la trama di tre opere minori di Schikaneder, la cui contiguità con la massoneria viene ridotta a una circostanza occasionale. Ad emergere è un ricorrente schema bipartito, dove all'esposizione di un conflitto segue la sua soluzione grazie alla virtù di personaggi che rinunciano a una prospettiva di vendetta. Uno schema, questo, in cui l'ideale massonico è universalmente umano e incontra il vettore sempre replicabile della letteratura di consumo.

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Catherine Juillard chiude la sezione con un interessante ritratto di Joseph Uriot, attore e ballerino loreno noto in Germania per i suoi scritti sulla massoneria e ben introdotto alle corti di Bayreuth e del Württemberg. È come autore di opéra-ballet che Julliard lo studia, ampliando l'orizzonte del volume con un genere tutt'altro che secondario nella diffusione della semantica massonica. Di grande interesse sono le proposte interpretative dei libretti composti tra il 1775 e il 1782 per la corte del duca Karl Eugen di Württemberg, che seppur non massone potrebbe essere stato il destinatario di una produzione atta non solo a celebrare, ma anche a istruire il principe sulle virtù di un buon regnante.

Rosmarie Zeller, nella terza parte del volume, si concentra sulla commedia a partire da *Les Fri-Maçons* di Pierre Clément, dove la segretezza che avvolge l'organizzazione massonica stimola la curiosità delle donne che ne sono escluse. Il soggetto gode di una notevole ricezione almeno fino a Kotzebue, come Zeller documenta con rigore filologico restituendo a Clément il ruolo che la critica ha finora trascurato di considerare nella sua portata.

Tristan Coignard analizza *Die Söhne des Thals* (1803) di Zacharias Werner sullo sfondo dei dibattiti religiosi del primo Ottocento, per esplorare le ragioni che portano alcuni massoni a considerare criticamente l'Illuminismo e imboccare strade diverse come quella, nel suo caso, di un cattolicesimo 'purificato' attraverso la massoneria.

Anne Feler illumina un'ulteriore protagonista della scena viennese oggi dimenticato, Joachim Perinet, autore nel 1790 di un adattamento teatrale del *Geisterseher* di Schiller che denuncia le derive mistico-esoteriche di matrice rosacrociana della massoneria viennese, mentre Johann Sonnleitner accende i riflettori su una commedia pressoché sconosciuta di Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, *Der Mann ohne Vorurtheil* (1866), che celebra in Joseph von Sonnenfels una figura centrale dell'Illuminismo e della massoneria viennese impegnata contro lo strapotere gesuita alla corte di Maria Teresa.

Chiude il volume Gerald Stieg, con uno sguardo lungo sulle manipolazioni ideologiche dell'eredità culturale. Aderendo all'interpretazione del *Flauto magico* come opera di propaganda in favore delle logge viennesi ormai in difficoltà nella capitale giuseppina, Stieg analizza la documentazione pubblicata nel 1991 da Jean Vermeil su tre celebrazioni mozartiane particolarmente significative: quella guglielmina del 1891, quella nazionalsocialista del 1941 e quella del 1966 nella DDR, dove interpretazioni deliranti piegate all'ideologia del momento cercano di occultare o minimizzare la centralità dell'orizzonte massonico nell'opera del compositore e del suo librettista.

Dopo la lettura di questo libro collettaneo, sarà ancora più difficile di prima sottrarsi al rumore di fondo massonico che accompagna il Settecento germanofono.

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Linguistica

On Quasi-Proper Names

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Abstract In this paper, I shall deal with quasi-(proper) names, that is expressions like 'Mum', 'Dad', 'Grandpa', 'Grandma' in English or 'Papà', 'Mamma', 'Nonna', 'Nonno' in Italian. My aim is to describe their uses and to throw further light on the theory of proper names. My view is that quasi-names are even more directly referential than proper names, as they stress continuity in the reference to a certain person. While proper names are always contextual, in so far as the context can select the referent in question (e.g. through salience), a quasi-name guarantees semantic continuity in that the referent is normally anchored to the speaker.

Keywords Proper names. Quasi-names. Nicknames. Strawson on proper names. Direct reference. Referential presuppositions.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Referring. – 3 Quasi-names. – 4 Strawson on Names. – 5 Problems for the Direct Reference View. – 6 Signs, Proper Names, Quasi-names. – 7 On the Speech Act of Calling Someone. – 8 The Functions of 'Dad', 'Mum'. – 9 Conclusion.

1   Introduction

In this paper,[1] I shall deal with quasi-(proper) names, that is expressions such as 'Mum', 'Dad', 'Grandpa', 'Grandma' in English or 'Papà', 'Mamma', 'Nonna', 'Nonno' in Italian.[2] I shall use examples both from English and Italian, given that in both languages quasi-names can be used in argument and non-argument positions (vocatives) and they are functionally different from names, in so far as they are indexical, from pronominals, nicknames and other categories. Most importantly, both in English and in Italian, they are directly referential and their conceptual dimension has become inert.

The first to use the term 'quasi-(proper) names' were Pelczar and Rainsbury (1998) and Giusti (2015), who correctly say that these terms are directly referential and that they are not to be assimilated to descriptions. It must be interesting to explain why this should be the case and the answer to this question cannot but be complex and articulated. These expressions are often in the vocative case, as when one is calling someone else, and lack the definite article, perhaps an indication that they are not definite descriptions, but quasi-names. Like names, they are directly referring expressions, even if, unlike names, they are indexical, as their interpretation is normally connected with the interpretation of 'I' (that is to say the speaker).

As Pelczar and Rainsbury (1998, 298) write:

> the rules determining who is properly called 'Mom' by whom depend importantly on such contextual factors as the identity of the utterer and his relationship to the person so-called and to his interlocutors. Like 'you', terms like 'Mom' cannot be interpreted without knowing key features of the circumstances in which they are uttered. In this way 'Mom' behaves very much like a canonical indexical.

Even if quasi-names contain conceptual materials, these are inert from a referential point of view, functioning like appositives, and they do not mediate the referent (there is no route from the quasi-name and its conceptual materials to the referent). Quasi-names can be used for calling someone (a relative, in fact) or for predicating

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2   'Sister', 'Brother', 'Sorella', 'Fratello' are sometimes used, but they are stylistically marked and, thus, are likely to generate conversational implicatures (in general, some ironic interpretations).

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something of the referent. (This is the use in argument position. Given that a sentence/assertion normally consists of a subject and of a predicate, the subject is assigned that predicate).

Like proper names, they can be used for calling (in which case a speech act is made and often a multiple speech act is made as when one calls someone to scold her). This paper has a section on names and the speech act of calling someone. Needless to say, if a quasi-name can be used instead of a name, it too can be involved in the speech act of calling that must be kept distinct from the speech act of asserting. Names, as Jeshion (2009) says, are used in order to fix a referent and to stress a discourse continuity when speakers talk about the same referent, implying that there is identity between the individuals talked about (on different occasions). Pronominals do not stress continuity in discourse because their interpretations change as context evolves.

Quasi-names are directly referential like proper names, even if they apparently exhibit some conceptual materials (we can merely call them 'concepts', if you like), which, however, are not active and are inert, in that they are not actually used to select a referent through satisfaction conditions.[3] They can be used as vocatives or as arguments of verbs. I called terms like 'Mum', 'Dad' 'quasi-names' because they have certain characteristics of names (but they could also be called 'indexical names'). They confer significance to an individual. Quasi-names are indexical, although the word 'I', through which we interpret them, does not appear in the proposition expressed. I can anticipate that a list of the properties of quasi-proper names is the following:

1. They can be used as directly referential subjects.
2. They can be used to call people.
3. They are not introduced by actions like baptism (or anyway, by a speech act that assigns a referent to a proper name).
4. They are memorized like ordinary lexical items.
5. When used in the third person, they can be replaced with a proper name, *salva veritate*, if the person who bears that name can be assigned the predicate.
6. They are indexical.

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[3] If I use the sentence 'The man with spectacles is suspicious', I use some concepts like 'man', 'with spectacles' where 'with spectacles' works as a modifier, to let the hearer identify the referent I have in mind. Surely, I could say 'He' or 'That man' or merely 'That' to refer to the person in question, but instead of relying on demonstrations, I can use definite descriptions where concepts serve to create a path from the expression used to the referent. So, when I use 'conceptual materials' I imply that concepts can be combined to form complex concepts which jointly identify the referent.

Concerning the differences between proper Names and quasi-proper names, we can say the following:

Uses of proper names are often contextual, since a name like Alexander can refer to different individuals, and we need to use salience in order to make a referent accessible in speech due to the use of a proper name. However, they are not indexical in that they are not related to the first person like 'Dad', 'Mum'. A quasi-proper name is indexical because, normally 'Dad' means 'my dad', NOT 'your dad'. It is possible to have exceptions, like a person who says to a child who got lost 'Mum is coming soon', to comfort her. Here, clearly, she does not mean 'my mother' but 'your mother'. Even so, the quasi-name remains indexical and this can be described as a case in which the perspective is shifted from the speaker to the hearer. One major difference between quasi-names and proper names is that the latter are normally created through special speech acts which establish conventions of use (ceremonies like baptisms, for example, even though these are not indispensable, as a reviewer says). Usually, these speech acts establish a causal link between the proper name and the referent.

Can the list of quasi-names only contain terms like parents and relatives? The answer is possibly NO. We have other terms like e.g. 'coach', 'teacher', which involve a unique special relationship between the speaker and the referent in question, and which can be used, like proper names, both in argument and in vocative positions. An anonymous reviewer reminds me that vocatives are a heterogeneous class, which does not only include quasi-names. However, what is meant here is that a quasi-name resembles a proper name in both argument and vocative positions. This resemblance is crucial, although other things are needed as well.

It should be said from the very beginning that my position according to which quasi-names are directly referential is essentially based on the idea that in the case of quasi-names, one need not identify the referent through an interpretative path from a concept to an object. This does not entail that one should not hold the true thought that the speaker has a mum, if she says 'Mum'. García-Carpintero (2000), in fact, distinguishes the referent John from the presupposition that there is an x called e.g. John. The presupposition includes the proper name, but also extra materials in the form of a file. So, it is not unlikely that in the case of proper names, we should distinguish between the referent and the presupposition that X has a mum. The referent is not mediated via a concept, but the presupposition must contain the true thought that X has a mum.

In the case of quasi-names, the search for the referent does not happen thanks to (or through) a concept; the concept is there but does nothing to restrict or narrow down the search (in the same way a non-restrictive relative clause does not restrict the search of the referent); so I propose that when we say 'Dad is out', I mean X, who

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is my dad (or who I call 'Dad'), is out, where X acts as a pronominal that directly has access to a referent.

Before proceeding we should make a clear distinction between quasi-names used in the vocative, as in the example 'Mamma, vieni qui' (Mom, come here) and those used as arguments of verbs as in 'Mamma è andata via' (Mom went out). This distinction, which does not correspond to the presence or lack of syntactic features for quasi-names, has syntactic correlates for proper names, as in many dialects of Italian a proper name can take the definite article in argument position, but cannot, if used as a vocative. The use of quasi-names in argument positions is not always referred to the first person. When talking to children, one can use 'Mamma' (in argument position), not to refer to one's mother but to the child's mother, one should note that these uses are rare. They require specific contexts (and language games) and, as said above, they are nevertheless indexical. The context shift has repercussions on the value of the indexical, which shifts from 'I' to 'You' (My mum → Your mum).

In some cases, words like 'Mum', 'Dad' are not used as indexicals but as predicates (e.g. Maria è mamma). There is no strong need, in these cases, for considering them 'quasi-names', as, after all we accept the view that names are not predicates, in general. One might point out that 'Mamma/Mum' and 'Papà/Dad' can take in some cases the definite article (e.g. in Italian you can have 'Il papà' or 'La mamma' (but are these expressions quasi-names, if they take the definite article?); but this might be considered no (potential) strong objection to the view that 'Dad' or 'Mum' (and their translations) are quasi-names, given that in some Italian dialects even proper names can take the definite article (in some cases only female proper names can take the definite article, in some other cases both male and female names can take the article). So, it should not be surprising that quasi-names can in some circumstances take the definite article (supposing that 'La mamma' works like a quasi-name or is a quasi-name). However, the problem I see with this is the asymmetry between proper names and quasi-names with respect to tolerating the use of the definite article in standard Italian (given that quasi-names cannot take the article in vocatives, as attested by * O la mamma). The only solution I can find is that 'La mamma' **does not work** like a quasi-name but like a definite description. Only quasi-names without the definite article can be used in vocatives (we have already said that quasi-names resemble proper names in so far as they can be used in argument positions and in vocatives). However, the definite article is only attested in some dialects and is not permissible in Italian or in Southern dialects with proper names in all positions; in those dialects, the article for some syntactic reason should be absent when the proper name or the quasi-name are used in vocatives, presumably because it has the feature −vocative (or nominative, accusative).

In any case, both proper names and quasi-names behave in a parallel way in vocatives and in argument positions. This is enough to show that quasi-names resemble closely proper names.[4] The uses of 'La mamma' with the definite article cannot be attested in vocatives because definite descriptions are normally used as arguments and not in vocatives. I would find it strange if someone were to call 'Il cavallo' (the horse) or 'Il giudice' (the judge) or 'Il maestro' (the teacher) in vocatives. Notice that 'Maestro' without the definite article can be a vocative. Going back to the difference between vocatives and names or quasi-names in argument positions, one notices that in Italian the vocative admits transformations like 'Bellezza', 'Bella signora', 'esimia professoressa' (roughly, the addition of an adjective, or nominalization of an adjective). Quasi-names with a vocative function can also admit transformations, as in 'Bella Mamma', 'Grande Papà', 'Carissima Nonna', but these cannot occur in argument positions. With quasi-names, these modifiers, however, cannot modify anything, because as said, the concepts in quasi-names are inert. They are more or less conventional or idiomatic expressions not to be analyzed in a compositional way. They are conventional locutions which serve to call the person in question by being nice to her. The alternative story, of course, would be to say that 'Bella Mamma', 'Grande Papà', 'Carissima Nonna' are not quasi-names, but idiomatic locutions, which look like quasi-names but are not, used to call someone, where concepts are reactivated. After all, the latter position is not unmotivated.

One obvious consequence of these considerations is that in the same way as 'Mamma' is different from 'La mamma', 'Maria' is different from 'La Maria' in those dialects where the definite article can be inserted. It is possibly the case that Northern uses admit predicative uses of proper names. But this is a story to be investigated in a different paper.

2 Referring

In asserting states of knowledge, we represent the world as we know it and transmit/communicate such representations to our hearers/recipients. Of course, only part of language use is devoted to making representations of the world, that can be true or false. But, certainly, in our assertions, we refer to things, objects and individuals with the

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4 Giuliana Giusti p.c. remarks that this is not sufficient because in the vocative you can use many common nouns like 'Maestra!', 'Signore!', 'Buon uomo!', 'Controllore!', 'Autista!', 'Guardia!'. I think this is a very important remark and my next paper will be on these expressions as quasi-names. Notice that Giusti capitalized the initial letter of each of these expressions (quasi-names). They are the types of expressions which, according to one of the authorities on proper names (XN), could be candidates for quasi-names.

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aim to predicate something true of them (which, if we are not lucky enough, may also turn out to be false). We usually assume that people value truth. Truth is a guarantee for successful action. In asserting things, we are bound, as Williamson (2000) says, to the knowledge rule ('Mary went to Paris': this is what I know). At least, we are committed to justifying their assertions and specifying their evidential basis, if required (if some doubt is cast on the truth of what they assert). We can refer to things, objects and individuals even if we do not (merely) utter assertions. In speech acts that are not representatives (descriptions of the world), we may urge someone to act on objects, but in order to do so, we need to refer to some objects.

There are many ways to refer to objects or individuals. We can use pronominals or demonstratives (whether simple or complex). We can use general concepts that refer by being part of definite descriptions which have, among other things, uniqueness conditions. Or we can use proper names. Proper names, unlike pronominals or definite descriptions, do not rest on (arbitrary) conventions, which are beyond the users' control. There is always someone who chooses a proper name for someone else (usually the parents). Assigning a proper name is a conventional procedure but one that is controlled by one's will. Lexical items (like e.g. pen, ship, politician) are not chosen by someone in particular; although scientists or great artists can sometimes propose them. No one can act as a legislator for language and all dictators who tried to reform language have miserably failed in this purpose, because language is fluid, democratic, far from being under someone's control. It is true that some authors like Manzoni, Shakespeare or Dante have been able to reshape their languages, but this has happened only because their changes were deemed reasonable and useful by the majority of people.

Someone might ask whether it is legitimate to contrast proper names with lexical items. Aren't proper names lexical items? From my discussion it ought to be clear that while we normally find lexical items in the dictionary, we do not usually find proper names in the dictionary. Lexical items have, normally, conceptual meaning while proper names are used to refer directly to certain referents. Only in rare cases do we find proper names, like Shakespeare, Dante, Keats, Aristotle, in the dictionary. But now, let us assume, following the referee that proper names are, in a sense, lexical items too. Would there be a difference between the conventions used for the ordinary lexicon and the conventions involved in the use and circulation of proper names? I would say there is a difference as proper names involve certain speech acts (as García-Carpintero says) whereby a name is assigned to a certain person and a causal chain is started.

While pronominals and definite descriptions are normally used to refer to something (whether objects or individuals), proper names can be used, in certain pragmemes or language games, without referring

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to anything, as reference is not what matters (see Capone 2020). I am not thinking of fictional names, but of cases of linguistic examples produced by a lecturer during a class. In a class, I can use a name without referring to anything because the purpose is not reference or truth or representing a state of the world. The purpose is to instantiate a particular language rule. In some examples, we can find names that do not refer and names that refer (e.g. to historical objects), as in 'John likes Plato'. This may be a linguistic example, yet Plato is taken to refer to a historical individual.

In addition to these categories, we can add quasi-names like 'Mum', 'Dad', which are usually written with an initial capital letter like proper names and like proper names can be used either to refer to individuals and say something true or false about them, or to call someone in the vicinity, requiring his/her attention or sometimes requiring even an action (minimally, that she should turn round and face us). Capitalization can be used to turn an NP into a proper name (see Jeshion 2009). I can utter 'Mum', with the illocutionary or perlocutionary effect of starting an action (Mum was supposed to come shopping with me and I am asking her to go out). It is not clear whether, in such cases, the utterance should be completed through an implicature (in which case it would be a sentential fragment (in the sense of Stainton 1998)). I suppose we can go for the most parsimonious theory and propose that 'Mum!' is multifunctional, as it can be used both to call an individual and to ask her to commit herself to an action.

It might be of interest to explore the similarities between proper names and quasi-names. I will mainly follow Jeshion's interpretation of Strawson's chapter two of *Subject and Predicate in Logic and Grammar*.

> Strawson construes name-giving as constrained primarily and most fundamentally by the semantic utility of names. We issue names in just those circumstances in which a circle of communicators needs to make identifying reference to a certain particular, there is an interest in the continuing identity of the particular across time, and there exists no short, natural description or title available to the circle as a single means of referring to that particular. According to Strawson, the reason why we name people but not our cars, frying pans, or the rooms of our house is that, for any particular person, there is a wide circle of language users that have an interest in the continued identity of and in referring to that person, yet lack any unique, natural singular term with which to refer. Thus, we introduce names for people. (Jeshion 2009, 372)

Quasi-names can act quite like proper names in identifying reference to a certain particular and in stressing the continued identity of that person.

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3 Quasi-Names

In this paper, I discuss quasi names such as 'Dad', 'Mum'. Terms like 'Dad' or 'Mum' are clearly contextual elements (indexical), but this feature is shared by proper names as well (it is surprising to see that many scholars accept the fiction that a proper name refers directly and uniquely), while, instead, it is obvious that a name can be used to refer to many different individuals and contextual assumptions should be used to make one (and not another) referent salient and accessible. Even a proper name, to be understood properly, must be restricted to a context. The magical power of context to delimit proper names and their referents has never been discussed at length. Presumably, in a certain context a certain meaning is more salient than in another, and this may be, among other things, also a matter of frequency. However, 'Mum' and 'Dad' are not only contextual elements; they are also indexicals. It never occurs to us to call John's mother 'Mum', although it would be true to describe her as 'she is someone's mum or someone's mother'. The fact that I can ask a child 'Where is mum?' is possible because I am putting myself into the child's shoes, I am conforming to his perspective.

So far, we have discussed the argumental use of 'Dad' and 'Mum' as subjects in assertions (sentential frames) in which they refer to individuals about whom we go on to predicate something (that turns out to be true or false).[5] Instead, when I say 'This is my dad', I am making a predicative use of 'Dad' and I am saying that object x is contained in the set of 'dads'. To follow one of the referees, we should call this an equative/reversible use, rather than a predicative use. Certainly, this sounds O.K. However, there can be cases of predicative uses like 'Mary is a mum'. A uniqueness condition is added by the possessive element (in which case pragmatics has no work to do).

It appears to me that 'Dad' and 'Mum' are *quasi names* first, because they are singular; second, they can appear as subjects in assertions and in such cases they directly refer to some individuals without the intermediation of concepts; even if they contain concepts ('Dad' after all expresses a concept), as mentioned above, the search of the referent does not happen through a concept and the concept is there but does nothing to restrict or narrow down the search. Third, they can be used for calling someone. When 'Dad' is used in the second person, it is like saying 'John!', 'Venerina!', expecting them to answer or to come or to do something they are expected to do. They are essentially used in the vocative case. The vocative case in English may be indicated by a special intonation. In Italian it may be

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5 'Individual' is a term used by Strawson both for objects and persons, but I normally use it to refer to persons, unless indicated otherwise.

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indicated either by intonation or by the marker 'O'. 'O papà' (This is never used for animals, when we call them, so this vocative marker also has the feature [+ human]). The same marker can be used to accompany proper names in the vocative case, as used to call someone, as in 'O Sandro', 'O Angela'. 'Dad' and 'Mum' are indexicals because they are used to call the speaker's father or mother. It would be very weird to call someone 'John's mum!' (one can imagine that this might be used as a vocative, but it is certainly marked, and it does not work as a quasi-name in argument position). The fact that this is not used this way does not mean that, in principle, it could not be so used. But not everything that could be used could be used legitimately. It is language use that legitimates or sanctions a certain expression. It is language that sanctions a certain use. However, I can imagine that one might use 'John's mum' to call John's mum, in certain cases, as when I have a list of people (mums) to call and I say 'John's mum! Fred's mum!, Tom's mum!'. But this looks like a special language game: calling a list of names. The utterance may also be interpretatively ambiguous between an utterance that calls a list of people and an utterance that requires expansion through an explicature ('John's mum! Fred's mum!, Tom's mum! All come over here'). To some extent, the utterance that makes a list of quasi-names is more natural than calling 'John's mum!'. These expressions are quasi-names in that they can be used for calling, but they do not require some causal acts like baptisms (or other speech acts) that authorize agents to repeat such uses (a causal chain or a quasi-causal chain) (see Kripke 1980). Unlike names, 'Dad', 'Mum' are memorized like ordinary lexical items, but we have to remember that they have special uses. Quasi-names cannot be easily replaced by proper names presumably for pragmatic reasons; quasi-names in familiar contexts are less marked than the use of proper names; thus, the use of a proper name instead of a quasi-name would trigger a conversational implicature due to the maxim of Manner; the language game in which the quasi-name occurs is also regulated by social rules which ban the occurrence of some other type of expression (this is a social fact that requires investigation), but quasi-names can be easily replaced by pronominals like 'You' or complexes or pronominals and quasi-names (you, Mum). (In Italian the pronominal cannot be used as preceding a vocative). Names have an advantage over pronominals. They can be used in subsequent unconnected utterances. So, I guess that, at least in certain circumstances, it is not easy to replace 'Dad' with 'You'. In calling, I cannot say things like 'You NOT you', or 'You come'. If I say in English 'Come', I am dropping a pronominal (one of the few cases where pro occurs), but it would be preposterous to say that I am using the null pronominal to call someone (however, the use of the imperative might be considered an implicit act of calling).

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It appears that terms that serve to call someone are in complementary distribution with merely referential terms. You can say 'My mum' in stating a fact about the world. However, if you say 'Mum', in the vocative case, it will not do to replace it with 'My mum' or 'My dad' (but Italian has ornamental phrases like 'Mio babbino caro', 'Mio babbo bello') (See also Giusti 2015 on modification of names or quasi-names). *Prima facie*, this should mean that in calling someone 'My mum' one only has an ungrammatical use. Instead, if the speakers are reasonable, they would use 'Mum'. 'Mum' is clearly a vocative in the Italian language. 'My mum' is not; it is at most nominative.

We should also consider the term of address 'Cugino', in the vocative, which vendors from Morocco use in their interaction with their clients (the use as vocative is, of course, very different from the use as argument of the verb). This is also directly referential, but not indexical. It possibly has the function of 'captatio benevolentiae' and serves to start interaction. Obviously, 'cugino' must be a translation (and a loan word) of a term which vendors use in Morocco. The speaker does not mean 'my cousin', while when she says 'Mum' she means 'my mum' (or refers to her mum). It may also be different from 'Mum' in that it is preferably used at the beginning of a conversation – it has a phatic function in breaking the ice and building up a successful communication. Proper names can be used to establish continuity and identity among referents, something that 'Mum' or 'Dad' are also capable of doing, but 'cousin' only has an interactional function and it just happens to be referring to the addressee (under a clumsy mode of presentation). It has an interpersonal function in that it softens up the client.

4 Strawson on Names

Strawson believes that the condition for using proper names is that they should favor efficient communication. Thus, he singled out three criteria for identifying proper names (Strawson 1974, 36):

1. A group of language users has a "frequent need or occasion to make identifying reference to a certain particular".
2. Within this group of language users, 'there is an interest in the continuing identity of the particular from occasion to occasion of reference'.
3. Within this group of language users, "there is no short description or title of that particular which [...] is always available and natural as a constant means of identifying reference to that particular".

Clearly, conditions (1) and (2) are satisfied by quasi-names as well. Our use of 'Mum', 'Dad' is not sporadic, but systematic. We frequently use quasi-names to refer to people who are part of the family and, thus, are likely to be encountered on many occasions of family life, including telephone calls. The identity of the referents persists from occasion to occasion and, thus, it would be little efficient to use a pronominal, when a name or a quasi-name could be used. The use of the name or quasi-name, among other things, signifies that the same object persists, it can be recognized easily, and has an identity which is expressed by the name or quasi-name. None of this is implied by the use of a pronominal or a demonstrative.

What about condition (3)? Strawson (1974) and Jeshion (2009) are persuaded that no other linguistic expressions can be used to signify that there is identity between an individual encountered before and one encountered now. But this is not completely true, because quasi-names work like short descriptions but, for some reason, there is no route from the description to the referent; due to a linguistic convention, they very much work like proper names and, thus, are capable of referring directly to an object. Perhaps there is a story to tell about historical considerations on quasi names, but for the time being, all that is required is to suppose that, over time, quasi-names have lost the ability to refer by the restriction effected by the minimal description at least in a number of contexts. Proof of this is the fact that, unlike in its predicative use as 'He is my dad', 'Dad' (nominative or vocative case) normally does not take the article (e.g. in English or in the Italian translation). If such considerations could be proven for a large number of languages, then we would understand how the definite description has turned into a name or quasi-name. We needed a quasi-name because we wanted to refer directly, but at the same time use a mode of presentation that is partially indexical and which has some conceptual dimension which indexes the referent to a function within a family. Later on, I will claim that an appositive structure can be used to combine direct reference, with some materials that are partially descriptive.

5 Problems for the Direct Reference View

I have said that 'Mum' or 'Dad' (even in cases in which they are used as subjects in subject predicate structures) are directly referential. Certainly, they appear to be so, even if they contain some conceptual structure (e.g. the concept 'Dad'). However, given a popular view of 'directly referential' I accept, if the proposition expressed does not contain the mode of presentation 'Dad' or if this is **inert** for some reason, then 'Dad' works like a directly referential term. Let us see what Recanati has to say about this:

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Suppose that a singular term *t* has a meaning by virtue of which it presents its reference in a certain way. To say that *t* is directly referential is to say that the mode of presentation of the reference of *t* is not part of the proposition expressed by the utterance *S(t)* in which *t* occurs, whereas the reference of *t* is part of the proposition expressed. Behind this double claim, there are two intuitions. The first intuition concerns the truth-conditions of the utterance. The mode of presentation of the reference is said not to be part of the proposition expressed because the reference's satisfying the mode of presentation is not part of the truth-conditions of what is said. Thus, by virtue of its linguistic meaning, the pronoun "I" presents its reference as having the property of being the speaker; yet the reference's having this property is no part of the truth-conditions of an utterance in which "I" occurs. When Paul says "I am French", what he says is true if and only if Paul is French. The property of being the speaker is not a constituent of the proposition expressed: it is used only to help the hearer identify the reference, which is a constituent of the proposition expressed. (Recanati 1990, 698)

The considerations above are illuminating. Although the rule "I" refers to what the speaker refers to allows us to reconstruct the referent that goes into the proposition expressed (or proffered), the concept 'the speaker' does not enter the proposition. In a sentence like 'Dad, come here', 'Dad' used as a quasi-name, in the vocative, although it is used to call Dad, does not enter the proposition 'Come here' (in this case, the content of the speech act). Even if it turned out that John is not the speaker's father, the utterance would be understood as calling a certain person and asking that person to come over here. The understanding of the sentence is not like this 'Given that Sally mentioned her father, since I am her father, I should do as she says'. The quasi-name is directly referential, as Sally's father understands that he is being addressed, even if he does not go through the recognition of his role as a father (he does not reason like this): Mary said 'Dad', I am her dad, in speaking she addressed me by her gaze, she presumably wanted to address and call her dad (given the satisfaction conditions for the use of 'Dad', thus, since I am her dad, she wanted to call me). Things in the third person (assertions in which 'Dad' is used as subject) are more complicated. 'Dad went to the cinema' is understood (within the circle of those who know that Dad is John) as 'John went to the cinema' if Dad's name is John. How can it be that the mode of presentation used in the utterance does not appear in the proposition expressed? If the speaker focused on the role or function of being a father, then it should be imperative that the mode of presentation 'Dad' appear in the proposition. But if 'Dad' is used as a quasi-name it will be okay to replace it with the proper name as being part of the proposition expressed.

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Quasi-names remind us closely of definite descriptions that have turned into Proper Names (see Rabern 2015). Rabern too focuses on descriptions that have become inert in time (The Holy Roman Empire is neither holy nor Roman, thus the description is inert).

As Marcus says:

> it often happens, in a growing, changing language, that a descriptive phrase comes to be used as a proper name – an identifying tag – and the descriptive meaning is lost or ignored. Sometimes we use certain devices such as capitalization and dropping the definite article, to indicate the change in use. 'The evening star' becomes 'Evening Star', 'the morning star' becomes 'Morning Star', and they may come to be used as names for the same thing. Singular descriptions such as 'the little corporal', 'the Prince of Denmark', 'the sage of Concord', or 'the great dissenter', are as we know often used as alternative proper names of Napoleon, Hamlet, Thoreau and Oliver Wendell Holmes. (Marcus 1961, 309)

Soames (2002) draws attention to a phenomenon that is somehow related to quasi-names, such as 'the Columbia River', 'the Empire State Building', 'the Brooklyn Bridge', 'the Eiffel Tower'. Soames says these are also partially descriptive names, which he defines as follows:

> A *partially descriptive name n* is semantically associated with both a descriptive property *PD* and a referent *o*. The referent is *o* determined in part by having the property *PD* and in part by the same nondescriptive mechanisms that determine the reference of ordinary nondescriptive names – for instance, by a historical chain of transmission leading back to *o*. The semantic content of *n* includes both *o* and *D*. (Soames 2002, 110; emphasis added)

Unlike quasi-names, the conceptual materials are not inert; in fact, if you hear 'The Columbia River' you can look for a river nearby; if you hear 'The Brooklyn Bridge', you can look for a bridge nearby (in order to restrict reference, contextual considerations are needed; clearly, if I am lecturing on geography, the hearers are not expected to look at the river or the bridge). Nevertheless, these phrases are capitalized and they are represented as proper names. They refer both to the referent and the parts mentioned in the NP. However, it is quite possible that once the name is circulated and used frequently, the string of words is no longer analyzed as a complex structure. Through a principle of laziness, the speakers may directly go to the referent. In any case, these partially descriptive names are unlike quasi-names. In fact, they cannot be used in the vocative, to call someone or something. It is true that they refer to things, but even if they referred to persons, they could not be used to call them

(I would find it odd to call Alexander the Great by using a capitalized description: 'Alexander the Great, we would like to talk to you').

A referee adds an interesting remark. Let us assume that 'The Columbia River' has become associated with direct reference. Then you do not use a satisfaction condition to have access to the referent, but nevertheless you have a thought about a river, this is undeniable. I do not quarrel with this idea, as I have already distinguished between the referent and the presuppositions of an expression, following García-Carpintero (2000).

6 Signs, Proper Names, Quasi-names

At this point, it may be useful to compare signs in general (as conceived by De Saussure), proper names and quasi-names. Signs, in general, according to De Saussure are relations between a signifier (the form) and a signified (the concept) that have the following characteristics. They are arbitrary, they are conventional, they escape the control of someone in particular (none of us can coin words),[6] they are part of a structure. Dictators have tried on many occasions to change/reform/purge the language, by adding their favorite words (Putin uses 'military operations' instead of the word 'war'), but after the period of their hegemony has ended, the language returned to its normal state. This shows that language is a democratic entity, where no one can impose a certain language use, lexemes or syntactic rules. Sometimes literary authors like Manzoni or Dante or Shakespeare have been influential in changing language (by extensions of meaning). For example, none of us can forget the (unforgettable) Perpetua, Don Abbondio's servant, from which the common noun 'perpetua' derived. People these days understand the concept 'perpetua', as a Manzonian creation, but my impression is that this function has been lost (perhaps the word 'perpetua' has been replaced by the word 'donna di servizio' and, then, 'colf'). So, there is no guarantee that a new language use will be preserved forever. Unlike common nouns, proper names, although they are already part of the language and almost no one attempts to create a new proper name, are applied to a referent in virtue of a causal connection (usually the intentions of

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[6] Wayne Davis p.c. comments: "I think you mean that none of us can make a word be a word of a natural language like English. People coin words all the time. The word 'googol' (referring to the number) was coined by a mathematician (or his nephew). It did not become the English word for the number, however, until others started using it". I agree that certain scientists have the privilege of coining words, however it will take a long time for a word newly coined to enter ordinary language use and be circulated.

the parents during the ceremony of the baptism).[7] And certain felicity conditions must be in place: we need the priest to record the name in a register. Of course, it is not always the case that we witness a baptism. Usually, in hearing the use of a name, we trust that the language users have witnessed a causal event or are **deferring** to uses by other language users.

We may find the following considerations by Jeshion (2009) useful:

> Unlike descriptions and indexicals, whose reference determination is highly contextually sensitive, proper names have their referents fixed. By virtue of our setting up conventions of name-bearer relations with acts of reference-fixing, proper names function in communication as long-term, interpersonally available linguistic representations of their referents. (Jeshion 2009, 371)

Quasi-names are like names in one respect, because they serve to express singular thoughts and they have their referents "fixed", in another respect they behave like indexical expressions "whose reference determination is highly contextually sensitive". Both names and quasi-names refer to individuals in virtue of conventions, but the conventions for the use of proper names very much resemble felicity-conditions of speech acts (in that the first use of a proper name is a speech act proper, as García-Carpintero 2000 says), while the rules determining the referent of quasi-names are very much like the ordinary rules that regulate the use of the lexicon. These rules are at the origin of the words, but they are not Kaplanian characters, in that when people use such words, they tend to ignore such rules and, in particular, they do not use them to fix the referent, as the referent is fixed in a direct way, like for a proper name. Quasi-names are there by convention; when we hear 'Dad' we know what the concept of 'Dad' is, but we need not go through the intermediation of this concept to have access to the referent.[8] There may be a rule of use connected with

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it, but this does not consist of a concept or of satisfaction conditions (the search of a referent capable of satisfying a concept). When I use 'The king of France' I go through the concept and, thus, I am able to restrict the referent. When I hear 'Dad' it does not happen that I go through a concept to know that I was referred to. The access to the referent is direct as if a proper name was used. The word is indexical and it is the speaker's dad that is being referred to, not any dad that is present. If the quasi-name was not a quasi-name, but only a common noun expressing the concept 'Dad', then any dad at all in the vicinity in hearing John call 'Dad!' would turn round, having the feeling of being called. But this is not the case. Only John's dad turns round and addresses John. The others are excluded. Someone might object to this. One would expect that, hearing the utterance 'Dad', all dads would turn around. However, things are not so easy. The signature of John's voice is an important element in determining who would turn round. Since it is the speaker's dad that is being called, who is the speaker's dad can be easily determined through the quality of John's voice. Of course, proper names are not, in general, indexical. When I say 'John', I am not assuming that he is 'my John'. The fact that a quasi-name is indexical guarantees that it works like a proper name, because one is able to restrict the referent to the speaker's dad and this has the effect that only one person is being addressed, just as it happens for a proper name. If 'Dad' was not indexical, any man who has children in the vicinity on hearing 'Dad!' would turn round and wonder whether they were addressed by the speaker. But this does not happen. Quasi-names have various characteristics, but, most importantly, when one uses them or hears them, one bypasses the concept – this is required for the quasi-name to be directly referential. In many occasions we bypass concepts or some of the concepts expressed by a description.

So what are quasi-names?

From the discussion so far, we can extrapolate the following definitions.

1. They can be used as directly referential subjects.
2. They can be used to call people.
3. They are not introduced by actions like baptism or other speech acts.
4. They are memorized like ordinary lexical items. You will find words like 'Mum' and 'Dad' in the mental lexicon[9] in that they

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[9] The fact that they can be found in dictionaries, important though it is, is not a necessary requirement of the theory. Many societies, in fact, lack written language uses let alone dictionaries.

have been learned by being exposed to and by using the language, drawing generalizations from their uses.[10]

5. When used in the third person, they can be replaced with a proper name, *salva veritate*, if the person who bears that name can be assigned the predicate.

6. They are indexical.

Some objections have been raised. I voice them and after these objections are presented, I will produce some counter-arguments.

Wayne Davis p.c. objects to each of these conditions (presumably he thinks that none of them on its own suffices to define quasi names). He says that (1) cannot distinguish between a quasi-name and a proper name, because proper names are also directly referential; that proper names too are used to call people, so (2) does not distinguish between quasi-names and proper names. He says (3) is not sufficient because nicknames are not introduced through baptism, nevertheless they are directly referential. He says that (4) is false because proper names like Italy and Saturn are memorized as lexical items. He objects to (5) because by replacing in 'Dad is John' 'my dad' with 'John' we obtain John is John, which is clearly uninformative (the same would happen by replacing 'my dad' with 'John' in 'John is my dad', which would amount to 'John is John').

However, it is not too difficult to remedy the problem in 5. All we need is something along the following lines:

5'. When used in the third person, they can be replaced with a proper name, *salva veritate*, if the person who bears that name can be assigned the predicate, provided that by doing so one does not obtain an uninformative sentence. So, if the sentence is 'Dad went to the cinema yesterday', I can replace it with the coextensive 'John went to the cinema yesterday'.

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[10]   Wayne Davis p.c. writes: "The conjunction of 1) to 4) almost suffices to define quasi-names. I say 'almost', because there are some (proper) names for which 1)-4) are all true too. One example is 'Aristotle' (his parents gave him a Greek name from which 'Aristotle' evolved). Gareth Evans pointed out that 'Madagascar' is another example.
   I think you can define quasi-names by adding one more defining property: they are indexical. That distinguished quasi-names from all names. The fact that they are indexical is one of your main points. Why not use it?".
   My reply is that yes, I agree with Wayne Davis, but from the very start, quoting Giusti, I said that quasi names are indexical. But it is not enough to say that quasi-names are indexical, in so far as many proper names are indexical too (to some extent). Some names index people to the Jewish community, some names index people to the Christian/Catholic community, some names index people to a community of people who appreciate the classical world (Socrates). They are indexical in the special sense that the **speaker plays a key role in the indexation process**. However, the speaker does not appear in the proposition expressed.

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>This is clearly an informative result, for someone who is more familiar with the mode of presentation 'John'.

To go back to the objections by Wayne Davis p.c., I clearly cannot say that Wayne Davis' considerations are wrong. However, we can interpret things in a different light. The use of 'quasi-name' hints that quasi-names, despite having conceptual structure, however inert, work as names. So, the objection that proper names too can be directly referential does not seem to me to be a decisive objection, because it shows that I am right in assimilating quasi-names to names. Analogously (2) shows that quasi-names can be assimilated to proper names. Nicknames, like quasi-names, are not introduced by baptism or some other explicit speech act. Well, perhaps baptism is NOT so important as the creation of a rule of use according to which a person should be called in a certain way. This rule would be associated with the speech act 'giving a name to a child'. For proper names, it is the parents that decide the rule. For nicknames, perhaps it is the most influential individuals of the community who establish the rule. Wayne Davis p.c. also says that names, sometimes, are memorized like lexical items: see Italy or Saturn. Yes, perhaps you can find 'Italy' and 'Saturn' in a dictionary, but what about the majority of proper names? Can we find them in dictionaries? Furthermore, one could defend the position that Italy has a non-directly-referential use, more or less like Aristotle, the father of logic and rhetoric. One knows that Italy is the state in the Mediterranean which has borders with Switzerland, France, etc. 'Italy' may be ambiguous between a directly referential and non-directly referential use. Concerning (5), the considerations by Wayne Davis are applied to the equative/reversible use of 'my dad'. 'This is my dad' is clearly an equative use. And 'my dad' in subject position has a referential use that is coupled with an equative use: the x who is my dad.

Perhaps it is wrong to try to distinguish maximally proper names from quasi-names, as we have to see what they have in common, rather than what their differences are. Yet, there are some crucial differences. According to Jeshion (2009): "Their broader psycho-semantic function is as common singular representations of their referents for long-term trans-personal, trans-contextual thought and talk". This, clearly, sets proper names apart from pronominals. A pronominal reaches the referent through some contextual clues and, needless to say, the referent may switch if the context changes. Proper names, instead, guarantee trans-contextual thought (what Jeshion 2009 calls the transferal of singular thought from an individual to another regardless of the persisting or not of contextual clues), given that the referent persists through the use of the same proper name. If these considerations were accepted *toto corde*, then we should minimally say that proper names and quasi-names have got distinct functions

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and that quasi-names belong to the set of context-dependent (or context-sensitive) expressions, while proper names do not. Yet, how many times does it happen that when we proffer the utterance 'John', we refer to a different John? It appears that trans-contextual effects can be achieved *pragmatically* and this may be easier with proper names than with pronominals, because proper names restrict the referent to a greater extent and guarantee direct reference given that no concept seems to be involved. So, if there is a difference between proper names and pronominals, this may be a matter of degree. Words like 'Mum' or 'Dad' guarantee trans-contextual thought *to a greater extent* than proper names because they are indexical. The contexts in which they are interpreted may change, but with no effect on direct reference. Given that the referent is indexed to the main speaker, we can proceed smoothly to the next section of discourse and use the quasi-name to refer to the same person. These considerations seem to me to be far from being unimportant.

Before concluding this section, I would like to address an issue that seems to me to be close or at least related to the issue of quasi-names. Jeshion (2009) discusses the case of 'The Unabomber', a name that was introduced by the newspapers for the person responsible for a number of crimes (it should be mentioned that in Italy as well someone sent parcels containing explosives and was also called 'Unabomber'). Could it be similar or close enough to quasi-names? A similarity is that, like for quasi-names ('Dad'), there was not a causal link between a ceremony (a baptism or a speech act associating a proper name with a certain child) and the circulation of the name. The causal link guarantees that there is a convention whereby referent X is called 'NP'. This convention is initiated by a speech act. A baptism is nothing but a complex speech act involving participants that play appropriate roles. When a name is given, someone normally gives the name and with proper names it is normally the father and the mother who give the name. But names like 'The Unambomber' were chosen by the press and there has never been an official speech act legitimizing the use of the name. (So, they are quite anomalous as names, being *artificial names*). Furthermore, these names have some conceptual materials. We have seen that quasi-names too have conceptual materials, which, however, remain inert. But quasi-names, differently from names like 'Unabomber', seem to have been sanctioned not by a speech act or a convention, but they are part of the dictionary. The dictionary tells us how to use them. Instead, names like 'Unabomber' were sanctioned by a convention whereby a restricted group of language users started to use that name which has conceptual materials. Perhaps one or two authoritative reporters started the use, which then circulated among language users. A significant difference between names like 'Unabomber' and quasi-names like 'Dad' is that 'Dad' can be used in the vocative for calling,

whereas 'Unabomber' cannot (but surely one could write a newspaper article and say 'Unabomber, stop doing that'). This would perhaps mean that the speaker is urging The Unabomber to stop that, but I doubt that he is calling someone in particular. Suppose The Unabomber never reads newspaper articles and has no idea that reporters have called him (and the vast majority of readers know of him as) 'The Unabomber'. In this case, the felicity conditions for calling are violated, as calling minimally requires that both the speaker and the addressee use a certain name (the same name) to refer to the person called (true, one rarely calls himself say by the name 'Alessandro' and prefers to use the word 'I'; however, if called 'Alessandro', one knows that this is the right name for addressing him). If we speculate further on the differences between 'The Unabomber' and quasi-names like 'Dad', 'Dad' is a quasi-name that refers to X (if proffered by X's son), whereas 'The Unabomber' does not refer to anyone in particular, it does not directly refer to the individual X. The term is like a check that must be cashed AFTER we discover the referent. All we know about these terms is that they have some conceptual materials that can determine or restrict the referent. But we also know that, for the time being, the referent has not been discovered. So, uttering 'Unabomber' is very different from uttering 'Aristotle', because even if we do not know the individual Aristotle by acquaintance, at least some people were acquainted with him and, thus, after hearing 'Aristotle', we assume there is a causal chain from the people who knew Aristotle (and were also acquainted with his name) to the people who are currently using 'Aristotle'. A name, after all, is linked to a file where we keep conceptual information that allows us to fix the referent. The problem with 'Unabomber' is that we cannot fix the referent, even if the conceptual materials of the name help us restrict the reference.

So, can 'The Unabomber' be a quasi-name?[11] Unlike quasi-names, it cannot be used in the vocative to call someone (or, if so used, it would be quite weird, given that the felicity conditions of the speech act 'calling' are not or need not be satisfied). Quasi-names generally refer to people that we know, but 'The Unabomber' (as used by reporters) does not refer to someone anyone knows. In particular, even the Unabomber may not be aware that he was given that name. Quasi-names have conceptual materials that are inert and, thus, do not serve to fix the referent. The Unabomber has conceptual materials that can be used to find the referent. However, 'The Unabomber'

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[11]   The term behaves differently in English and in Italian. In English it cannot be a quasi-name, given that it has the article. In Italian it can be used without the article. In Italian it can be used to refer to a person of whom we know the actions and of whom we presuppose the existence, but it is rarely used as a quasi-name, in the vocative, although we might use it that way (marked though its use might be).

very much works like a name in that it is capitalized. It is different from a proper name in that the convention started among reporters when the referent of the name was not known, a proper name is usually given to a person immediately after he was born, the link between a proper name and a referent is usually established at the beginning of someone's life. The link between a name like 'Unabomber' and the referent is established by a judge in court after a trial. All we can say about Unabomber is that it is an artificially created name, an artificial name.

7   On the Speech Act of Calling Someone

We may be surprised to note that the use of a name or a quasi-name in calling someone amounts to a speech act or a language game in the sense of Wittgenstein (furthermore, you do not succeed in calling a person, unless that person provides an appropriate response). Like speech acts and language games, calling someone has some felicity conditions. We normally call someone who is intent on a course of action that is different from ours, in order to get his/her attention and for him/her to embark on a course of action which did not matter to her/him before the calling, as s/he was intent on doing something else. We presuppose somehow that s/he attended some other business. If I call John, when John walks in the street in the opposite direction, it is not clear that he would have turned round anyway, but when I call 'John', he turns round and seeks the source of the calling. If he does not recognize the face of the person who called him, he may reach the conclusion that the speaker was under a false impression (that he called the wrong person); but if he recognizes the face of the person who called him, he may stop, direct his attention towards that person, and address him/her to see what the reason for calling him was. There are differences between addressing someone and calling her. We can address someone by merely using a pronominal, but if we are calling her by name, then we are obviously calling her. Calling someone can bring with it perlocutionary or illocutionary effects. For example, I may call Angela to wake her up, so I am not only calling her, but I am also waking her up (Capone, forthcoming). Perlocutionary acts are consequences of locutionary acts. An example by Wittgenstein is this. In delivering a lecture, I may succeed in getting my students to sleep. This can be an unintended or intended event. But certainly, we do not define the illocutionary act of calling (or giving the lecture) as waking someone up or getting one to sleep. However, in using a proper name or a quasi-name, I may scold someone, using derogatory intonation. We can set up a case in favor of having two illocutionary forces associated with calling someone by proper name or quasi-name.

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Can one call someone without believing that s/he exists (that s/he is alive)? The warden at Auschwitz may call 'John Morpurgo', without having a strong belief that he is alive or dead. After all, at roll calls a number of people systematically do not respond, which usually means that they have died. But a roll call is different from calling someone, presupposing that he is alive (as we normally do when we call people we know). So, there are at least two senses of calling someone, that is pretending to call him, and calling him. Only the latter presupposes the existence of the referent of the proper name used.[12] Another difference is that, when we call someone, we usually call people we know (in addition to knowing that they exist, we know what their faces are like). After all, we could not call someone if we did not recognize him/her. But things are not always like this. I may be waiting for a certain John, who is to arrive at Catania's airport, and when a new tide of tourists enters the airport from one of the international gates, I start calling 'John Woodhouse'. I do not know the person, I do not know what his face looks like, but I rely on his recognizing me as the person who must drive him to the hotel because I am the only one who calls 'John Woodhouse'. The presupposition is that there is an X, X being John Woodhouse, but not that I know him. But perhaps this can be best described not as calling someone, which is directed to a known object, but attracting someone's attention.

While with proper names it may be possible to shout a proper name, without presupposing that one knows the referent (take the case of the person who has been asked to take a person he doesn't know from the airport); with quasi-names you always presuppose that you know the referent. How can you call 'Mum' if you do not know your mum?[13] Certainly, you will not hope that anyone who is a mum will turn round to see what it is that you want. So, terms like 'Mum', 'Dad', 'Grandpa' are more individuating than proper names and, in certain circumstances, can select a referent when a proper name could not. The expression 'cugino' as used by a vendor from Morocco is used for the purpose of addressing someone, but perhaps not for the purpose of calling someone. Suppose that in a crowd of people you shout 'Cugino'. Who do you think is likely to reply? Nobody will believe he is being addressed or called by the use of 'Cugino' (I noted the use of 'Cugino' but not of 'Cugina' as a term of address). After all,

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12   The roll-call in the class is done to verify the presence of a student. In this case, it is not the lack of an existential presupposition but the lack of the supposition that the student is present that renders the roll-call different from the use of a name or quasi-name in the vocative.

13   A reviewer notes that an orphan might call his mum in a prayer (even if he does not know her). In this case, would we say he knows his mum or not? Well, perhaps he has an idea of what his mum could be like, he minimally knows that for some reason she left him. This might count as minimal knowledge.

'Cugino' works only if you are in a place where you and the addressee are likely to look at each other in the face. The addressee believes he is being addressed because the speaker is looking at him and he is the only candidate for addressee (as other people are far away).

Before closing this section, it might be of some interest to investigate some peculiar terms of address in Italian (Southern Italian). It often happens that you address a young man of the same age as you with the term of address 'Compare' (Godfather). This is not a quasi-name, because it does refer uniquely to some X. The term is a directly referring expression, but it does not take nominative case, but only vocative case (the use in the nominative case is quite different, being literal). The term in the past used to be employed by young people, but it would not be impossible to hear it used among adults. It creates some complicity between the speaker and the addressee. I would say that only the masculine form exists, because I never see (hear) girls say to their peers 'comare' to express or invoke complicity. The term is referential, though it does not occur in the third person, it serves to address someone of roughly the same age and it functions at the interpersonal level by expressing an offer of complicity and requiring a further offer of complicity on the part of the addressee. This term should be taken for what it is, a way of addressing someone, but it cannot work to call someone, if there are too many people present. You cannot shout in the crowd 'Compare' hoping that the person addressed realizes that you are addressing him and want to talk to him (although the other use would be legitimate for calling). Of course, within a small group of people it might work to call someone in particular, selecting him or her as addressee.

Unlike 'Compare', or 'Bro', there are NPs which can be used to refer, but not for addressing or calling someone, because they are intrinsically impolite or because the individual in question is not aware of their use and once this use is applied to him or her, he does not recognize himself through this mode of presentation. This is the case of nicknames, that are very rarely or never used in the vocative case.

Are nicknames quasi-names? They may have some conceptual materials and can be used to refer to individuals known in the community (by that nickname, in addition by some other name). The conceptual materials they contain, derogatory or laudatory as they may be, are usually inert, as people do not bother to process them. I discovered by chance that a friend of mine, within the community of his village, was called 'Nino mutanda' (Nino underwear), presumably because he sold intimate clothes, underwear, etc. In these small towns it may appear strange that a male individual should own this kind of shop. Nicknames can sometimes be so nasty that the individual in question does not know that these terms refer to him (as they are hidden from him). So, understandably, they cannot be used to call him because he would not respond to them (take a dog, which you

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call by some other name than his, he certainly would not respond if you called him by a name invented by yourself). So, nicknames, that closely resemble quasi-names in that they contain conceptual constituents which are not activated (after a nickname circulates few wonder why that person was attributed that name), nevertheless cannot be used to call someone engaging him or her in interaction (presumably for tact reasons).

8 The Functions of 'Dad', 'Mum'

In an assertion, you can predicate something about the subject. The subject has to refer to some object X for the assertion to be true or false about that object. So, you can say things like 'Dad is happy', or 'Dad is ill'. Presumably to use quasi-names in subject positions in assertions that can be true or false, you are predicating a quality of X, where X is defined relationally in relation to the speaker. So 'Dad' works like an indexical. However, you can use 'Dad', 'Mum' to call your father and your mother. Perhaps they are looking in a different direction or doing something else, so by calling them you get them to turn to you and address an issue that is of interest to you. For calling your parents, it would not normally do to use 'John' or 'Angela' even if John and Angela are your dad and mum, nor would it do to use a plain pronominal like 'You' (occasionally we may say 'You, I do not mean You', but understandably this utterance would be quite ambiguous). Of course, some people use 'Angela' instead of 'Mum', but it should be said that, when you address your mum within a large group of people and call her 'Angela' there is no guarantee that only your mum will turn round, as there may be other Angelas and they may feel themselves addressed. Quasi-names are certainly less ambiguous than proper names and pronominals. Proper names can refer to more than one individual, and one needs to know which individual is salient in context; a pronominal could be used to refer to anyone at all. Instead 'Dad', 'Mum' refer uniquely to or call uniquely only the speaker's dad or mum. Similar stories can be noted for quasi-names like 'Grandpa' or 'Grandma'. The moral to draw is that, while a proper name can directly refer to an individual X, a quasi-name is even more direct than a proper name, because there can be no ambiguity in using it and the quasi-name must refer uniquely to an individual or uniquely call that individual. The result of using a proper name or a pronominal may be the same as the result of using a quasi-name, in so far as the speaker, by the name, or quasi-name, may be referring directly to an individual. But the use of a quasi-name is less interpretatively ambiguous (to use a term by Jaszczolt 1999) and, thus, it happens less frequently that the speaker's intention is misunderstood. Rules of use may also be slightly different, because a proper

name can be used by addressing anyone at all, while a quasi-name is normally used within a circle of relatives or, at most, friends. So, a quasi-name is even more indexical than we initially thought, because it indexes the person called (by the quasi-name) to the speaker, but it also serves to index the speaker to a circle of relatives or friends.

A referee objects to the view that a quasi-name is even more direct (in establishing a referent) than a proper name, by saying that even a quasi-name can be ambiguous. For example, the word 'Dad' can be applied to one's natural father, to one's adoptive father, to someone one normally calls 'Dad', etc. However, even the reviewer has agreed that the concept 'father' involved in 'Dad' does not express a satisfaction condition, so we may open to the view that the quasi-name directly refers to X, without going through a concept – thus, the ambiguity of 'father' does not interfere with the quasi-name's ability to refer directly. There may be an interpretative ambiguity at the presuppositional level. However, with proper names the ambiguity is about the potential referents (and they are a great many) that a name could refer to. So, I notice that, in this respect, a proper name is different from a quasi-name and that quasi-names, thanks to their indexicality, potentially refer to a very limited number of entities.

The speaker does not merely use the quasi-name to refer to an individual or call that individual, but the voice can be modulated in such a way that using the quasi-name amounts to scolding someone or praising someone or showing surprise. It is of some interest that the use of a quasi-name can constitute a speech act. But this is not a property that applies only to quasi-names, because proper names can be used this way too. This can be taken as showing that quasi-names have functions that are similar to those of proper names.

9 Conclusion

In this paper, I have discussed the distinctions between proper names, quasi-names, and nicknames. Proper names are mainly used to refer to individuals (normally persons, although we may assimilate animals and other objects to persons), when used in argument positions of verbs or to call someone (or to address and to call someone). When used as vocatives, in many Italian dialects, they cannot take the definite article. Names are directly referential (although sometimes they are analyzed as predicates) in that we do not make use of a concept to reach the referent. They normally refer to X, but they are associated with a minimal presupposition (that the individual is called X). They are also associated with a file in which, in addition to the presupposition that the individual is called X, we may add presuppositions about historical or scientific achievements (Aristotle is a great philosopher of the past, he has written, among other

things, on rhetoric, etc.). These presuppositions are not linguistic, but represent knowledge of the world, possibly background knowledge. Proper names are normally used referentially, but in certain language games (like lecturing on syntax) the referent is not important, as students do not bother about it. Proper names are not assigned through a convention or rules of language use, but come into existence through speech acts like 'This child is called 'Alessandro''. A causal chain explains how a name is propagated and used by people who were not present at the ceremony. Sometimes not even a ceremony is required. Certain scientists have the right to call a particle 'X' because they discovered that particle.

Quasi-names are directly referential like proper names, even if they apparently exhibit some conceptual materials, which, however, are not active and are inert. They can be used as vocatives or as arguments of verbs. When used as vocatives, they can be apparently modified as in 'Bella Mamma', although it may be reasonable to suppose that these uses do not really involve quasi-names, but involve real modification (to modify a concept, this concept has to be active, not INERT as in quasi-names). I called terms like 'Mum', 'Dad' 'quasi-names' because they have certain characteristics of names (but they could also be called 'indexical names'). They confer significance to an individual. Quasi-names are indexical, although the word 'I' does not appear in the proposition expressed. There can be exceptions, as when one says 'Mum is arriving' to a child, by which he understands that his own mum is arriving, not the speaker's mum. A context-shift justifies the shift in the content of the proposition expressed; nevertheless, 'Mum' remains indexical, because in this restricted context, it refers to the addressee's mum. So, the context shift justifies the transformation my mum ⃞ your mum. Quasi-names arise due to linguistic conventions; in this respect, they are different from proper names.

Quasi-names belong to the set of context-dependent (or context-sensitive) expressions, while proper names do not. Proper names can facilitate trans-contextual effects. It appears that trans-contextual effects can be achieved *pragmatically* and this may be easier with proper names than with pronominals, because proper names restrict the referent to a greater extent and guarantee direct reference given that no concept seems to be involved. So, if there is a difference between proper names and pronominals, this may be a matter of degree. Quasi-names like 'Mum' or 'Dad' guarantee trans-contextual thought *to a greater extent* than proper names because they are indexical.

Nicknames are directly referential. They do not arise due to a linguistic convention, but are introduced by some individuals that are prominent in a linguistic community and propagate until they are normally used. Nicknames range from terms expressing a positive evaluation to terms expressing a negative evaluation. The use

of nicknames in the vocative is quite tricky, because if the nickname expresses a negative evaluation, then its use would damage the face of the recipient; hence, it goes without saying that it will not be used. The person who bears a nickname may not be aware of his nickname, if this expresses negative evaluation. Thus, nicknames are different from proper names, which normally require knowledge of the name by the bearer of the name, although cases have been reported in the literature which concern amnesia. One may forget one's own name, occasionally.

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On Quasi-Proper Names in Japanese
A Reply to A. Capone

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Abstract In reply to Alessandro Capone's paper entitled "On quasi-proper names", I provide relevant data in Japanese and discuss the properties and status of quasi-proper names from a cross-linguistic perspective. A close look at the properties of Japanese quasi-proper names indicates that they are a special case of *yobina* (lit. 'call name'), a subcategory of nicknames in Japanese which are used both to refer to and to call someone. Specifically, they are like stage names systematically given to older family members. The *yobina* status of quasi-proper names appear to hold cross-linguistically, while the peculiarity within the *yobina* category has general and language-specific elements.

Keywords Quasi-proper Names. Proper Names. Stage Names. Japanese. Indexicality. Speech Acts. Cross-linguistic Analysis.

Summary Introduction. – Data. – Discussion. – 3.1 On the Directly Referential Property. – 3.2 On Indexicality. – 3.3 On the Involvement of a Speech Act and Lexical Knowledge. – The Status of Quasi-names. – Conclusion.

1 Introduction[1]

In reply to Dr. Alessandro Capone's paper entitled 'On quasi-proper names' (included in this issue), I provide relevant data in Japanese. I aim, on the one hand, to see how the idea of quasi-proper names (henceforth quasi-names) applies to Japanese, and, on the other hand, to offer some implications on the properties and status of quasi-names from a cross-linguistic perspective. After providing the data, I discuss the major properties of quasi-names mentioned by Capone and identify the status of quasi-names in Japanese and in general.

2 Data

I focus on quasi-names in Japanese for family members in a nuclear family. They consist of a kinship term and honorific morphemes attached to it, with the exception of the loan words *papa* 'Dad' and *mama* 'Mom'.[2] Morphemes used are; a prefix *o-* which expresses politeness, and suffixes which express politeness or intimacy, including *-san* (formal/neutral and polite), *-sama* (more formal and polite/respectful), and *-chan* (casual and intimate).

In a Japanese family, traditionally, older members call or refer to younger members (i.e. their children or younger siblings) by their first names, with an optional intimacy suffix *-chan* or *-kun* (for males). Younger members, on the other hand, call or refer to older members, using the terms listed below, instead of by their first names. This rule applies generally, although the basic terms have some minor variations. The main difference from the Western system is that older siblings occupy a higher status than younger siblings within the family.

Basic quasi-names in Japanese
papa 'Dad' → *o-too-*{*san*/ *sama*} 'Father'
mama 'Mom' → *o-kaa-*{*san*/ *sama*} 'Mother'
o-nii-chan (lit. 'dear older brother') → *o-nii-*{*san*/ *sama*}
o-nee-chan (lit. 'dear older sister') → *o-nee-*{*san*/ *sama*}

Note. Arrows '→' indicate an optional change made at a later stage of the child's growth.

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2 I use the American English version 'Mom', instead of the British English version 'Mum'.

The loan words *papa* and *mama* are now commonly used among native speakers of Japanese. Young children learn to say *papa/ mama* to call or refer to their parents, and *o-nii-chan/ o-nee-chan* to call or refer to their older siblings. As the child grows, *papa/ mama* optionally, but quite commonly, shift to the respectful version *o-too-{san/ sama}/ o-kaa-{san/ sama}*, given that *papa/ mama* sound friendly but childish.[3] As for *o-nii-chan/ o-nee-chan*, the optional shift is not common. Across all four referring terms, the most respectful version with the suffix *-sama* has only limited users.

Accordingly, the terms which are typically used are *papa/ mama* or *o-too-san/ o-kaa-san* for parents, and *o-nii-chan/ o-nee-chan* for older siblings. All the terms listed above appear to be qualified as quasi-names in Capone's sense.

3 Discussion

I discuss how the idea of quasi-names applies to Japanese, and on this basis, offer some implications on the properties and status of quasi-names from a cross-linguistic perspective.

Capone (§1) provides the following list of six major properties of quasi-names:

1. They can be used as directly referential subjects.
2. They can be used to call people.
3. They are not introduced by actions like baptism or other speech acts.
4. They are memorized like ordinary lexical items [...]
5. When used in the third person, they can be replaced with a proper name, *salva veritate*, if the person who bears that name can be assigned the predicate.
6. They are indexical.

This list serves as a working definition of quasi-names, each item of which is either a necessary condition for or a prototypical property of a quasi-name. Items 1 and 2 are shared by proper names, while Items 3 and 4 put together (are meant to) illustrate the contrast with proper names. Item 5 appears to be entailed from (and equivalent to) Item 1. Item 6 is unique to quasi-names. Given this, the following discussion focuses on Items 3, 4, and 6, including also Item 1.

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3 There are still quite a few children who (are directed to) start with *o-too-san/ o-kaa-san*, instead of *papa/ mama*, as indicated by the survey result that *o-too-san/ o-kaa-san* were also among top twenty earliest produced words (Mynavi Corporation 2008).

3.1 On the Directly Referential Property

First, I provide additional support for the directly referential property of quasi-names (Item 1) from the perspective of first language acquisition.

Papa and *mama* are among those words that Japanese children learn to say at the earliest stage of their first language acquisition. If we assume that *papa* and *mama* involve a relation between the speaker and the reference, not just the property of a person, why can *papa/ mama* be directly referential terms?

Gentner and Boroditsky (2001, 244) argue: "relational nouns like *uncle* or *passenger* are typically interpreted first as object-reference terms, and only later relationally". This should hold for *papa*, *mama*, and other quasi-names at issue. Also, empirically, parents often talk to the child, "mama-wa koko-yo" (Mom-particle, 'Mom is here'), "papa-da-yo" (Dad-copular-particle, 'This is Dad'), and so on. These speech acts of greeting and presentation combined should have a perlocutionary effect of creating a direct link between the parents (i.e. the references) and the terms *papa/ mama*. These suggest that *papa/ mama* are acquired as directly referential terms. Even after the child learns the relational concept, there is no good reason for switching to a concept-based indirect access to their parents. Thus, *papa/ mama* should remain directly referential terms.[4]

We could consider that the information about the kinship relation ('conceptual materials' in Capone's term) are added to the terms as connotation (vs. denotational meaning; Murphy 2010), Gricean conventional implicature (vs. explicature; Grice [1975] 1989), or Searle's preparatory condition for speech acts (Huang 2015), none of which has effect on quasi-name's directly referential property.

The complex forms *o-too-{san/ sama}/ o-kaa-{san/ sama}* are also considered to be directly referential. Quite a few children still start with these terms. Otherwise, these terms seem to replace *papa/ mama* as their stylistic variants in favor of politeness.

When a child has two or more older brothers, she calls each of them *o-nii-chan*. The exact reference is determined contextually. This is similar to what happens when there are two or more students named John in the same class. The existence of multiple links between a (quasi-)proper name and the reference does not affect the directly referential property of proper names and quasi-names including *o-nii-chan*. The same applies to *o-nee-chan*.

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4 Presumably, at a later stage, indexical, directly referential quasi-names are extended to non-indexical relational terms which apply to a specific person's parents, in the form that is underlyingly accompanied by a possessive (ex. *X-no mama* 'X's mom').

3.2 On Indexicality

Indexicality of quasi-names (Item 6) also applies to the Japanese data, but with some extension. While the reference of English 'Dad' and 'Mom' and their Italian counterparts is always determined relative to the speaker, in Japanese the reference of *papa/ mama* may be determined relative to the speaker 's family. Specifically, it is quite common that the mother calls her husband *papa*, even in the absence of their children. Thus, *papa* (more commonly, *o-too-san*, and less commonly also *mama/ o-kaa-san*) is extended to express a position in the family analogous to, say, chief director of a business group. Consequently, for example, if a child's mother says to her husband, "Ken resembles *papa*", *papa* is ambiguous between her husband and her father. To accommodate such cases, I propose the following extension (indicated by boldface) to the characterization of the reference of *papa* (and *o-too-san*).

The reference of *papa* (*/o-too-san*)
The reference of *papa* is the individual who is (presupposed to be) the father of the speaker, **or someone else who is in the position of 'papa' in a family of the speaker**.

A similar extension applies to *mama* as well, but less commonly.[5] Such an extension is NOT involved in *o-nii-chan/ o-nee-chan*, which are used in calling or referring to older siblings, since it is only younger siblings, not the parents, who say *o-nii-chan* or *o-nee-chan*.

To be noted, the above-proposed extension does not affect the indexical nature of *papa/ mama*, that is, the crucial involvement of the speaker in determining the reference.

3.3 On the Involvement of a Speech Act and Lexical Knowledge

The Japanese data indicates that some speech act is required for introducing quasi-names. A close look at the data suggests that this is a language-specific requirement. More essentially, the requirement is attributed to the felicity conditions for the vocative use of quasi-names.

First, Japanese has more than one candidate quasi-names for one target person, although very small in number, as listed above (§ 2). Each family agrees on a particular set of quasi-names for older members, which are chosen from acceptable options available in

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5 We can accommodate cases of deictic projection (Huang 2015), that is, cases that the speaker uses *papa* from someone else's perspective, by replacing 'the speaker' in the characterization with 'the deictic center for person'.

the lexicon (ex. *papa* and *o-too*-{*san*/ *sama*} for father; *mama* and *o-kaa*-{*san*/ *sama*} for mother).[6] In the case of proper names, there are a much wider variety of options. For example, a girl's name is chosen from the set of female names and gender-neutral names of the language. In Japanese, they include Mari, Akiko, and Kaoru, while excluding Ken, Jun, and Haruo. A novel name is allowed but should follow the convention on the linguistic form. Despite this difference, quasi-names and proper names share the basic structure of choosing a particular element from the set of acceptable options.

Second, as I mentioned earlier, parents present themselves to the child together with the terms *papa* and *mama*. The speech acts have a perlocutionary effect of creating a link between the term and the reference, as in christening in the case of proper names.

Third, the optional change from *papa*/ *mama* to *o-too-san*/ *o-kaa-san*, for example, requires some informal speech act to be acknowledged by relevant family members. For example, the parents may tell the child, "Now that you have started elementary school, call us *o-too-san* and *o-kaa-san* from now on", or the child in high school may tell their mother, "From now on, I will call you *o-kaa-san*, as most of my friends do."[7] If, for example, the child calls her mother *o-kaa-san* lacking in such a speech act followed by the mother's approval, it sounds odd: the mother's response would be like, "Oh, what happened?" Also, suppose that a lost child crying in a shopping center shouts "Mama!" and his mother hears it without seeing him. If she has been called *o-kaa-san* so far, she would think it's somebody else's son, unless his unique voice insists otherwise. Also, once the change to *o-too-san*/ *o-kaa-san* has been made, the former version *papa*/ *mama* is no longer acceptable. So, some speech act is presupposed in order for a particular quasi-name to be effective, although it could be quite informal, and even rather implicit, replying on conversational implicatures and the like.

These illustrate a similarity between quasi-names and proper names in Japanese. Simply put, effective quasi-names in Japanese presuppose an informal process of what we may call 'quasi-naming'. However, in case there is only one option for one person (ex. 'Mom' in English for mother), there is no need to specify one: the speaker simply uses the term 'Mom' in the lexicon. Therefore, 'quasi-naming' is a language-specific requirement.

To be noted, the presupposed speech act of 'quasi-naming' is attributed to the felicity conditions for the vocative use of quasi-names:

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[6] In reality, parents discuss and decide on a particular set of quasi-names and children follow them.

[7] For practical purposes, these utterances are written in an English translation except for quasi-names.

in order to felicitously use a name to call someone, the speaker should make sure that the addressee knows (and also agrees on) the use of the name (for relevant discussions, see Capone §6 'On the speech act of calling someone').

4 The Status of Quasi-names

The Japanese data provides insight into the status of quasi-names. The Japanese language distinguishes between two kinds of nicknames; *adana* (lit. 'another name') and *yobina* (lit. 'calling name'). An *adana* is a name that is created on a metonymical or metaphorical basis, reflecting the target person's properties or a particular event. The target person may not know her *adana*. So, *adana* does not guarantee the vocative use. The 'Nino mutanda' example mentioned by Capone (§6) is a clear example of an *adana*.

A *yobina*, on the other hand, is a name that is used for pragmatic reasons. They often have a connotation of endearment. Examples of *yobina* in English are; Alex (for Alexander), Bill (for William), and Lilibet (for the late Queen Elizabeth III, used by her family members, especially by her husband the late Prince Philip). Besides these phonological variants of the original names, popular names of various sorts (ex. pen names, stage names) are also *yobina*. In addition, an *adana* can also be used as a *yobina* (not preferably), but not vice versa. In order for a *yobina* to be effective, the target person should approve of it. Therefore, a *yobina* has both vocative and referring uses. English counterparts to *yobina* thus include *popular names*, *pet names*, and *endearing names*.

Given this, Japanese quasi-names appear to be a special case of *yobina*, a subcategory of nicknames. The peculiarity is that they are: 1) shared within each family, 2) licensed relative to the speaker (Cf. indexicality), based on the immediate or complex kinship relation with the target person, 3) chosen from a small set of acceptable options in the lexicon of the language under certain constraints, 4) assigned only to those in a higher position. In a nutshell, Japanese quasi-names are like stage names systematically given to older family members.

The *yobina* status of quasi-names appear to hold cross-linguistically, while the above-mentioned peculiarity has general and language-specific elements. For example, regarding Property 2), if there is only one option for one person available in the lexicon (ex. English 'Dad' for the speaker's father), the speaker should use that unique option.

If we are to accommodate a wider range of quasi-names including 'Coach' and 'Teacher' (Capone §1), we could do so by making changes/ extensions from 'family' to 'community', and from 'kinship relation' to 'social relation'.

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5 Conclusion

I provided a basic set of quasi-names in Japanese to support and enhance Capone's argument from a cross-linguistic perspective. Directly referential property obtains further support from the perspective of first language acquisition. Indexicality also applies to the Japanese data, but with an extension. The Japanese data indicates that some informal speech act is required for licensing quasi-names. But the requirement has a language-specific element.

In sum, Japanese quasi-names are considered to be a special case of *yobina*, a subcategory of nicknames in Japanese. More specifically, quasi-names are much like stage names systematically given to those members in a higher position. The *yobina* (or stage name variant) status of quasi-names appears to hold cross-linguistically, while the peculiarity within the *yobina* category has general and language-specific elements.

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Semantics and Micro-Parametric Variation: The Simple Future in Ibero-Romance

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Abstract   Cross-linguistic variation in future-tense sentences has been extensively documented in the literature. Despite this diversity, there is a prevailing sense that a common core meaning exists and that the various interpretations in each language are connected. To account for both the similarities and the differences, Escandell-Vidal proposes that the meaning encoded by verbal tenses can be analysed into two components: i) core meaning; and ii) semantic micro-parameters. The purpose of this paper is twofold. On the descriptive side, it aims to refine the approach in terms of microparametric distinctions by suggesting some modifications. On the theoretical side, it seeks to offer a simpler and more powerful tool to account for interlinguistic variation by restricting its range to a limited set of predictable combinations.

Keywords   Future tense. Semantic micro-parameters. Procedural meaning. Temporal interpretations. Evidential interpretations. Modal interpretations.

Summary   1 Introduction. – 2 The Theoretical Framework. – 2.1 Tenses, Interpretable Features and Procedural Meaning. – 2.2 The Simple Future: Natural System *vs* Cultivated Uses. – 2.3 Modelling Verbal Paradigms in a Three-dimensional Space. – 2.4 Eventualities and Situations. – 2.5 A Two-layered Semantics for the Simple Future. – 3 Revising the Simple Future in Ibero-romance. Grammatical Descriptions and Corpus Data. – 3.1 The Simple Future in Catalan. – 3.2 The Simple Future in Spanish. – 3.3 The Simple Future in Portuguese. – 3.4 The Ibero-Romance Simple Future in 21st-century Corpora. – 4 Semantic Micro-parameters for the Ibero-Romance Future. – 4.1 The [±T] Parameter. – 4.2 The [±S] Parameter. – 4.3 A Structured System of Distinctions. – 5 Discussion. – 5.1 The Simple Future as an Indirect Evidential. – 5.2 Conjectures and Deductions. – 5.3 Reportative Readings. – 5.4 Concessive Readings. – 6 Conclusions.

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1 Introduction

Tense is a grammatical category that expresses the ordering of events in time, providing a framework for situating eventualities relative to the speech time (Reichenbach 1947; Comrie 1985). Accordingly, the simple future tense is expected to locate an eventuality after the utterance time, thus denoting events or states that have not yet occurred but are expected or planned to occur.[1]

However, accounting for the semantic import of the future tense presents several challenges, which complicates the direct mapping of grammatical forms to temporal meanings. To begin with, there are bidirectional asymmetries between future tense and future time reference. Other devices can be used to express future time reference (such as the 'futurate', the '*go*-future' construction, and the simple present). In addition, the future tense can refer to states of affairs not located in the future, including events overlapping with the moment of speech or even in the past.[2]

Descriptive grammars of single languages tend to characterise the meaning of the future by giving unrestricted lists of uses: prospective, generic, conjectural, directive, intentional, concessive, modal, mirative or jussive – to name just a few. As can be easily seen, these interpretations appear unrelated or even contradictory.

Finally, cross-linguistic variation adds another layer of complexity, as different languages exhibit a variety of not-coincident interpretations.[3] For illustrative purposes only, consider the differences in the examples in (1)-(2). Temporal uses (i.e., those placing eventualities along the timeline ahead of speech time) are found in all varieties, as illustrated in (1). Conjectural uses expressing guesses or hypotheses about what is going on elsewhere are limited in French and ungrammatical in Catalan, as shown in (2).

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2 Smith 1978; 1983; Fleischman 1982; Comrie 1985; Dahl 1985; Dahl, Velupillai 2008; Copley 2009; Jaszczolt, de Saussure 2013; De Brabanter, Kissine, Sharifzadeh 2014; Baranzini 2017; Escandell-Vidal 2022.

3 Spanish: Fernández Ramírez 1940–50; Rojo, Veiga 1999; Gennari 2000; Matte Bon 2006; RAE, ASALE 2009; Escandell-Vidal 2010; 2014; 2022; Laca, Falaus 2014; Lara Bermejo 2016; 2021; Rodríguez Rosique 2019. Italian: Bertinetto 1986; 1997; Squartini 2001; 2004; 2012; Rocci 2000; Mari 2009; 2010; Giannakidou, Mari 2018; Baranzini, Mari 2019. French: Dendale 2001; Saussure, Morency 2012; Mari 2015; Baranzini, Saussure 2017. Catalan: Pérez Saldanya 2002. Portuguese: Oliveira, Lopes 1995; Cunha, Cintra 2017; Mateus et al. 2006; Cunha 2019; 2021; 2022; Marques 2020. Romanian: Laca, Falaus 2014; Roussarie et al. 2017.

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(1)   a. *El paquete <u>llegará</u> mañana*. (Sp.)
      b. *Il pacco <u>arriverà</u> domani*. (It.)
      c. *A encomenda <u>chegará</u> amanhã*. (Port.)
      d. *Le colis <u>arrivera</u> demain*. (Fr.)
      e. *El paquet <u>arribarà</u> demà*. (Cat.)
      'The parcel will arrive tomorrow.'

(2)   [Bell ringing]
      a. *<u>Será</u> el cartero*. (Sp.)
      b. *<u>Sarà</u> il postino*. (It.)
      c. *<u>Será</u> o carteiro*? (Port.)[4]
      d. *%Ce <u>sera</u> le facteur*. (Fr.)
      e. **<u>Serà</u> el carter*. (Cat.)
      'It must be the postman.'

This diversity raises intriguing questions about the nature of the future tense and the mechanisms underlying its interpretation: How can a single linguistic form have such a wide range of interpretations, including seemingly unrelated or contradictory ones? To what extent can languages differ in the interpretations that a future-tensed sentence can receive? How can historical change in the interpretation of future tense be accounted for? Addressing these questions is crucial for developing a comprehensive theory of future tense that accounts for both synchronic diversity and diachronic change.

In this paper, I will review the proposal about interlinguistic variation put forward in Escandell-Vidal (2022) and suggest some refinements based on the distinctions observed in Ibero-Romance languages. More specifically, I will address the question of what microparametric distinctions account for the differences in interpreting the simple future tense in Spanish, Catalan, Galician and Portuguese. Future tense uses will be compared, identifying commonalities and differences. My approach is simpler than the one found in the previous literature and better explains the constraints governing linguistic variation.

The remainder of the paper is organised as follows. In section 2, the main assumptions and hypotheses underpinning the proposal are introduced, including a summary of the two-layered semantics for the future tense proposed by Escandell-Vidal (2022), which also is the basis of the current account. Section 3 is devoted to reviewing the interpretations of the future tense found in descriptive grammars and

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4 As one of the anonymous reviewers points out, in this context, Portuguese uses the interrogative version, not the affirmative one. Conjectural readings are possible in Portuguese, though the conditions seem stricter than in Spanish. See Marques 2020. I will go back to this issue in section 5.

corpora of Ibero-Romance languages. Section 4 presents a modification that simplifies the micro-parametric approach. Finally, Section 5 discusses and extends the implications of the suggested approach and summarises the main conclusions.

2 The Theoretical Framework

This paper is built on several theoretical assumptions that provide the foundational framework for analysing the semantics of tenses in general, and the simple future in particular. These assumptions are essential for understanding how tenses determine the referential properties of eventualities. Drawing upon a wide body of research, this section sets the stage for a detailed examination of the structure of the meaning of verbal paradigms and its implications for the articulation of linguistic theory.

2.1 Tenses, Interpretable Features and Procedural Meaning

Grammatical morphemes in inflectional paradigms are sets of features that occupy a functional projection in the Tense domain, containing interpretable features (Chomsky 1995) that feed the conceptual-intentional interface. This raises the question of how to account for the existence of various interpretations related to the same item. Different answers can be given.

The first option is to posit that all aspects of interpretation are pre-determined in the derivation generated by the grammatical system. The grammatical representations inherently contain the full specifications for all the interpretations. Thus, for each possible reading, a distinct derivation exists. The role of the context is to select the appropriate interpretation among all the existing possibilities. The second option is to suppose that all expressions have a default meaning, which is accessed first in the interpretation process. Other readings are activated only when the context requires cancelling the preferred reading or adding more data. The role of context is to verify or validate interpretations. I will not pursue these two options here.

The option I favour here is to assume that the semantic representation is underspecified. The meaning encoded by grammatical categories is abstract enough to be compatible with a variety of interpretations, so none takes precedence. The role of context is decisive in all cases for constructing the final interpretation.[5] This view easily leads to a monosemic hypothesis: each tense has a single meaning

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[5] Sperber, Wilson [1986] 1995; Carston 2002; Frisson 2009; Egg 2010; Recanati 2012.

that explains the commonalities across its uses while being consistent with more than one interpretation. The various attested readings do not exemplify extended polysemy but context-dependency, i.e., they are a by-product of the linguistically encoded meaning and other linguistic and contextual data added during the inferential phase of utterance processing.[6]

As for the nature of the encoded meaning, I assume that it is procedural (as suggested in Relevance Theory).[7] Grammatical categories encode processing instructions for the conceptual-intentional interface that constrain the inferential phase of interpretation by guiding the hearer towards the intended representation, rather than fully specifying it in conceptual terms. Thus, linguistic expressions encode an inherently abstract and incomplete schema that underdetermines the truth-conditional content and the intended meaning. Several aspects of the logical form must be elaborated through inferential processes to flesh out this abstract schema into a more precise representation. This enrichment occurs at both the propositional level (the basic content of the sentence) and the higher level (including aspects such as the speaker's intentions, illocutionary force, and propositional attitude).

2.2 The Simple Future: Natural System *vs* Cultivated Uses

Identifying the abstract meaning of a verbal tense requires careful consideration of all factors involved in utterance interpretation since the attested diversity of uses can derive from various sources, including grammatical factors (*Aktionsart*, control, person, adverbials, sentence modality, etc.) and contextual aspects (illocutionary force, expectations, desirability, etc.). An adequate account should distinguish the contribution of each aspect.

In addition to those grammatical and contextual factors, another element has contributed to overestimating the diversity in the case of the future tense. Based on the frequency of uses and first language acquisition patterns, it has been shown in the literature[8] that not all the uses of the future tense are alike. Some uses are early acquired through natural exposition to the language and productively used and understood in all kinds of communicative situations. Other uses, by contrast, are learnt at a late stage through formal

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[6] Comrie 1985; Kratzer 1991; Carston 2002; Von Fintel 2006; Egg 2010.

[7] Blakemore 1987; Wilson, Sperber 1993; Nicolle 1997; 2007; Moeschler 1998; Saussure 2003; 2011; Escandell-Vidal, Leonetti 2011; Escandell-Vidal 2021; 2022.

[8] Gili Gaya 1962; Kernan, Blount 1966; van Naerssen 1980; Berretta 1994; Sedano 2006; Cartagena 2017; Weist 2014; Escandell-Vidal 2018.

instruction: their acquisition is incomplete, and they are confined to specific texts and registers.

Following the references mentioned above, it is important to distinguish between uses that belong to a natural, active and fully productive grammar, on the one hand, and those that belong to a fossilised system, preserved only as a cultivated set of fixed conventions, on the other. Uses of the simple future within the active system are temporal, conjectural and modal interpretations. In contrast, obligation uses (as seen in biblical commands), uses indicating logical necessity and irrefutability (as in mathematical demonstrations), and norms (as found in legal texts) represent grammatical fossils, not part of the internalised knowledge of native speakers regarding the semantic properties and uses of the future tense. The following examples from Spanish illustrate these uses, which are also found in other Romance languages.

(3)   a. *Honrarás a tu padre y a tu madre.*
      'You shall honour your father and your mother.'
      b. *Si dos ángulos de un triángulo suman 137°, el tercero medirá 43°.*
      'If two angles of a triangle add up to 137°, the third will measure 43°.'
      c. *El solicitante presentará las alegaciones en un plazo de 10 días.*
      'The applicant shall submit their allegations within 10 days.'

Therefore, what might appear as an array of unrelated uses results from the coexistence of different grammatical systems. The goal of linguistic theory is to provide a model of the internalised knowledge of native speakers. The other uses need not be explained using the same principles.

2.3   Modelling Verbal Paradigms in a Three-dimensional Space

In the classical approach of Reichenbach (1947), the basic meaning of the future tense is accounted for in terms of three temporal points (E: event; R: reference; S: speech) and two binary relations (precedence and coincidence) between them. In this model, all verbal tenses express temporal relations along the time arrow. Thus, the future tense locates an event at a time posterior to the speech time **[fig. 1]**.

However, this framework does not capture all the complexity found in the semantic properties of tenses. The 'real world', as represented by the time arrow, only gives a linear view of a more complex system. Other dimensions must be added.
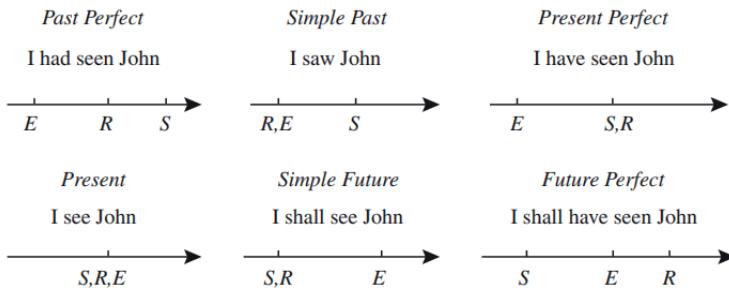
Figure 1 The semantics of verbal tenses of Reichenbach (1947, 72)
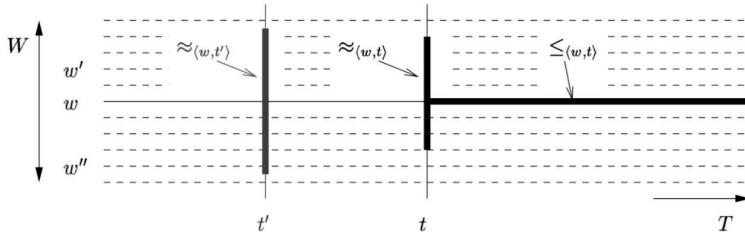
Figure 2 Two-dimensional modal logic (Kaufmann, Condoravdi, Harizanov 2006, 95)

The obvious addition concerns the modal domain. Any analysis of verbal paradigms must consider possible worlds as well. The standard view[9] uses a two-dimensional model **[fig. 2]**.

In this model,

> ...a multitude of possible worlds, or world-lines [...] are aligned with the same temporal dimension, given by (T, <). One can picture these alternative worlds as lines running in parallel. [...] The thick lines represent the sets of indices accessible from <w, t> by the modal relation ≈ (vertical) and the temporal relation ≤ (horizontal. (Kaufmann, Condoravdi, Harizanov 2006, 95)

This addition defines a two-dimensional space. All eventualities can be arranged along the time arrow. The bold horizontal line indicates a connection between different temporal events occurring at t, t', t'',

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9   Kaufmann et al. 2008; van Benthem 2010; Kratzer 2020; see also Escandell-Vidal 2024.

all within the same world *w*. This reflects the standard temporal relationships of simultaneity and precedence (≤). Thus, temporal relationships are a specific type of accessibility relation where the eventualities involved exist within the same world. At time *t*, certain aspects of the potential worlds *w'* and *w''* can be accessible from *w*. This relationship constitutes a modal accessibility link connecting parallel worlds *w* and *w'* at *t*. In the two-dimensional framework, the actual world is conceptualised as a singular solid line that includes all presently existing states of affairs, with additional dotted lines representing possible worlds. However, this does not suffice to explain how speakers manage events.

At any given time, not all eventualities have the same status for a given speaker: only certain events in the actual world fall in her[10] current spatiotemporal coordinates, while the remainder of the world, despite its reality, lies beyond her immediate experience. Calculating all forms of deixis (personal, spatial and temporal distinctions) requires considering the speaker's coordinates. This defines a space called the Speaker Perceptual Field (SPF):[11]

> [The SPF is] the set of locations *l* that (s)he has perceptual access to at the time *t*, where perception may involve any sense, not just sight. The perceptual field is a sub-space of the physical space surrounding and including the speaker. (Faller 2004, 69-70)

The SPF shifts along the timeline with each individual, leaving behind the set of locations the speaker previously had perceptual access to, there by forming the Speaker Perceptual Trace (SPT; Matthewson, Rullmann, Davis 2007; Faller 2004).

When two speakers share their coordinates for a while, their SPFs overlap. As soon as they part, however, their SPFs disconnect, so what happens inside the space of one of them is no longer accessible to the other. Therefore, what we call 'the real world' can be better conceived as a collection of all perceptual fields (and perceptual traces) of all speakers, aligned following the flow of time, including also their modal worlds, as shown in Figure 3 (from Escandell-Vidal 2024, 103; see also Escandell-Vidal 2010; 2014).

In the perceptual field of each speaker, the solid arrow represents the flow of their spatiotemporal coordinates, i.e., the subset of the actual world falling within their perceptual space (either past or present). A set of accessible possible worlds is also defined for each speaker, represented here by the starred, dotted and dashed lines.

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10 Following a standard practice among Relevance theorists, I refer to the Speaker as 'she/her' and to the Hearer as 'he/him'.

11 Nikolaeva 1999; Faller 2004; Chung 2005; De Haan 2005; Speas 2008.
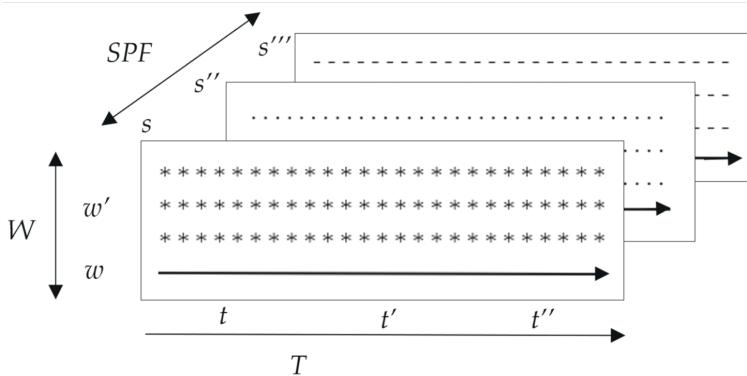
The result is a three-dimensional model where accessibility relations can be defined not only between the real world and possible worlds but also between the world of an individual and that of others. In addition to the regular temporal and modal relations, new forms of relations can be established along the new dimension created by the array of SPFs. A key prediction of this model is that for a given speaker, eventualities that fall outside her perceptual field belong to parallel perceptual spaces, so they are in a different dimension.

In this way, considerations about evidentiality – the grammatical category expressing the speaker's source and/or mode of access to information (Aikhenvald 2004; 2018) – enter the picture. In the literature on evidentiality, two basic categories are typically distinguished (Willett 1988): direct evidence and indirect evidence. Direct evidence involves having perceptual sensory access to an eventuality, which means that the speaker has observed or experienced it. Indirect evidence, by contrast, includes information units accessed through inference or report: the speaker has not directly experienced the eventuality but has either deduced it from other information or learned it from someone else.

The distinctions associated with these three dimensions are crucial for understanding the semantics of the future tense. These dimensions provide a framework for analysing how future tense meanings are constructed and interpreted across different languages.

2.4   Eventualities and Situations

Some researchers working on evidentiality have developed a neo-Reichenbachian framework of functional heads related to temporal and evidential paradigms in terms of situations.[12] The model contemplates binary relations of accessibility and inclusion among the following three situations (where situations are conceived as sets of assumptions; Speas 2010).
1.   Evaluated Situation (ES): The situation of which *p* is true;
2.   Information Situation (IS): The set of assumptions upon which the judgement of truth is based; and
3.   Discourse Situation (DS): The situation in which the sentence is being uttered.

This framework based on situations and their interrelations is not intended to be exclusive to evidential distinctions; rather, it is proposed as an adequate tool to capture the meaning of all functional categories in verbal paradigms. The purpose of this system is to show that variation is not random but subject to some basic cognitive constraints ruling out relational systems more complex than the one suggested here (Speas 2010).

These theoretical assumptions provide the foundational basis for analysing the meaning of tenses and their implications for language interpretation, change, and variation.

2.5   A Two-layered Semantics for the Simple Future

In this section, I will summarise the model proposed in Escandell-Vidal (2022) for the simple future (see also Escandell-Vidal 2010; 2014; 2024), which will serve as the basis for the analysis and the proposals in Section 4.

The main objective of that proposal is to account for interlinguistic variation in closely related languages by structuring the meaning encoded by functional heads into two distinct components:
1.   Core meaning: It encodes an interpretative procedure consisting of a particular configuration of the set of situations (ES, IS and DS) and their relations (inclusion and accessibility). The configuration defined as the core meaning is shared by all languages, which explains cross-linguistic commonalities, despite the possible diversity in interpretations.
2.   Semantic micro-parameters: They specify various aspects of the core meaning by establishing additional constraints on

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[12]   Nikolaeva 1999; Speas 2008; 2010; Davis, Potts, Speas 2007; Kalsang et al. 2013.

the way in which the abstract interpretive instruction must be satisfied. The ontological categories in the system (three situations, two relations) limit the number and the scope of the parameters. The selection of values is unique to each language, thus creating language-specific grammars from a very simple feature architecture. These additional restrictions account for both cross-linguistic variation and diachronic change.

The postulation of semantic micro-parameters is largely inspired by work on variation in the generative framework.[13] A micro-parameter involves a finite set of grammatical options that can take on different values. This explains learnability, syntactic change, and cross-linguistic variation. The acquisition of a first language involves setting parameter values based on the input children receive during the critical period of language acquisition. Syntactic change results from modifying the values of one or more parameters. Interlinguistic differences arise because each language has chosen different parametric values. Importantly, a model that employs parameters as an explanatory tool imposes direct constraints on the range and configuration of potential linguistic systems.

2.5.1   The Core Meaning of the Simple Future

The core meaning of the simple future (i.e., the invariable part of the semantics encoded by this inflectional feature) in Romance languages relates the three situations (ES, IS and DS) as shown in (4):

(4)   FUT=[IS ⊂ DS] & [ES ⊄ IS]
       a) An inclusion relation between IS and DS: IS ⊂ DS
       b) A non-accessibility (disjointness) relation between IS and ES: ES ⊄ IS (ES∩IS=∅)

The first clause of the formula establishes an inclusion relation between IS and DS, indicating that these two situations coincide in the timeline and within the SPF. The second clause establishes a non-accessibility (or disjointness) relation between IS and ES, which means there is no direct access from IS to ES. Therefore, the semantic instruction in the formula in (4) prompts the hearer to create or activate the representation of an eventuality ES outside the SPF (i.e., an eventuality that the speaker cannot access from IS and hence neither

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13 Chomsky 1981; Kayne 1996; 2000; Roberts, Holmberg 2010; Gallego 2011; Brandner 2012; Ordóñez, Roca 2013; Picallo 2016.

from DS). The formula is underspecified: it does not detail why this is the case and where the ES is located.

In principle, the eventualities the speaker cannot access directly from DS are those falling outside her current coordinates. Crucially, this limits the search space to three, and only three, dimensions: the eventuality may be either in another time, in an alternative world, or within the ace of other individuals. What is common to all three cases is that, at DS, the speaker has no direct experiential (i.e., first-hand) access to the represented eventuality.

Any category encoding a non-accessibility relation between IS and ES is anti-experiential by definition: "The speaker can only have indirect evidence for an eventuality that unfolds outside his or her perceptual field" (Faller 2004, 69). Thus, the future tense serves as an anti-experiential present, indicating that the speaker is referring to an eventuality she cannot directly experience or verify at the current time: the eventuality represented by the sentence is located in a dimension beyond the speaker's immediate experiential reach.

It is worth noting that the future is compositionally transparent as an anti-experiential present, as argued by Matte Bon (2006) for Spanish and Caudal (2012) for French. The modern synthetic future of Romance languages consists of two different functional categories: an operator Present and the infinitive. The operator Present encodes the inclusion relation between DS and IS, whereas the infinitive describes the eventuality as potential.

Future-tensed sentences are not assertions (MacFarlane 2008), so they do not have truth values.[14] They have, however, truth conditions and also licensing conditions in discourse. A future-tensed sentence conveys the speaker's public commitment to not having perceptual access to the eventuality. Therefore, the simple future is legitimate if the speaker's evidence for the representation is not based on direct experience. The occurrence of the eventuality as a worldly fact at a later time or its verifiability elsewhere does not affect the speaker's justification and her public commitments.

By making explicit the speaker's lack of perceptual evidence, the propositional content under its scope must be interpreted as the representation of an eventuality, not the eventuality itself. In fact, all forms of indirect evidence involve propositions. For any given speaker, only eventualities within their perceptual field (or perceptual trace) are state-of-affairs or worldly facts (i.e., particular situations occurring in their perceived real world; Kratzer 2002). In contrast, the objects of indirect evidentials are propositions, that is,

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14   As one of the anonymous reviewers points out, the absence of direct experience is necessary but not sufficient for the truth of a future-tensed sentence, as a previous version of my text suggested. Other factors, such as shared knowledge, also play a crucial role.

structured informational units representing states-of-affairs without being facts themselves. Thus, when a speaker makes a prediction, expresses an intention, puts forward a conjecture, draws a conclusion and repeats information received from another individual, the resulting object is a proposition, not a fact.

If this proposal is on the right track, the simple future does not encode temporal, modal, or conjectural information. Instead, it conveys a more abstract and underspecified indication: that the speaker lacks direct perceptual access to the eventuality. This core meaning, however, does not still contain the whole set of features relevant to the semantics of the future tense for each language; further specifications may be added that constrain the domains in which the underspecified processing instruction can be satisfied. This is the role of micro-parameters.

2.5.2   The Role of Micro-parameters

The formula in (4) can be complemented by incorporating specifications that impose additional conditions on how the instruction must be elaborated. These constraints remain part of the encoded meaning, though their precise values vary across languages. This is where the concept of micro-parameters becomes pertinent.

Each language (or language stage) selects its own values for the parameters. The selected values determine the interpretive properties of its future-tensed sentences. To limit the inventory of parameters, the proposal in Escandell-Vidal (2022) is that they can only set constraints on either the status of the three situations involved or the relations between them. Three micro-parameters are defined there: [±factual], [±deictic] and [±forward].

The [±factual] parameter introduces additional conditions regarding the nature of the eventuality ES. Specifically, it determines whether the eventuality is considered a factual, worldly fact or a representational fact. This parameter establishes a crucial distinction between Latin and Romance languages. In Latin, the future tense was factual and *realis*, used for events occurring in a future time when everything was already determined but unknown to most people. In contrast, the modern synthetic future of Romance languages does not adhere to this factuality condition; Romance futures are all *irrealis* in nature. Therefore, the replacement of the Latin inflectional form with the new (originally periphrastic) future in Romance languages represents more than a superficial change in grammatical expression. It signifies a profound shift in semantic features, moving away from a factual future towards an *irrealis* one.

The [±deictic] parameter specifies the status of IS, particularly its connection to the SPF. When [+deictic] is selected, the SPF becomes

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pivotal in determining the status of an eventuality: non-accessible worlds are those beyond the current speaker's experiential domain, even if they exist objectively and are accessible to other speakers. Conversely, when [-deictic] is chosen, the real world is universally defined in a generic sense for all speakers – thus erasing the third, evidential dimension. The criteria determining whether an eventuality belongs to the real world are objective, making it irrelevant whether a specific speaker witnesses an event or not.

The [±forward] parameter relates the location of ES to the temporal dimension: [+forward] specifies that ES can only occur in the future, along the timeline extending from the present; [-forward], by contrast, imposes no such temporal constraints. This parameter was designed to distinguish grammars that strictly adhere to temporal readings.

These are the main points of the two-layered approach developed in Escandell-Vidal (2022). The proposal aims to provide a framework for understanding linguistic variation and limiting the range of possible language types to a few predictable combinations. It does not aim to capture all the subtleties of the uses and interpretations found in actual utterances, which depend on a more intricate interplay of factors including *Aktionsart*, arguments, adjuncts, and other contextual considerations.

3　Revising the Simple Future in Ibero-romance. Grammatical Descriptions and Corpus Data

In this section, I will examine the uses of the simple future tense in Ibero-Romance languages, drawing on grammatical descriptions and corpus data. For each language, I will also discuss the classifications provided, highlighting how these often arise from a conflation of grammatical and pragmatic aspects.

3.1　The Simple Future in Catalan

The *Gramática de la llengua catalana* (GIEC) and its abridged version *Gramática essencial de la llengua catalana* (GEIEC) are the reference grammars by the Institut de Estudis Catalans. Both describe the simple future as having one proper use and some derived and modal uses.

a. Proper use: To indicate posteriority to the speech time:

(5)　a. *Demà em compraré una canya de pescar.*
　　　Tomorrow I buy.FUT.1SG myself a fishing rod[15]

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[15]　Future tense verbs will be glossed, not translated, to prevent biasing the interpretation by using the resources of English.

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b. *L'any vinent el nostre amic <u>farà</u> cent anys*
 Next year our friend turn.FUT.3SG one hundred
c. *Quan <u>arribarem</u>, encara {<u>dormiran</u>/<u>estaran</u> dormint}*
When we arrive.FUT.1PL, they sleep.FUT.3PL /be.FUT.3PL sleeping
(`https://geiec.iec.cat/text/20.5.3`)

The examples show that the verbs in the future tense all refer to eventualities located ahead of the moment of speaking. Adverbials, of course, contribute to making clear the intended interpretation.

b. Derived uses. These include:

i) As a past: Used mainly in historical or biographical texts to refer to a situation after a past event.

(6) a. *Anys més tard <u>publicarà</u> la seva obra mestra.*
     Years later he publish.FUT.3SG his masterpiece
     b. *Tot el segle XV reflectirà la lluita d'un país que no es resignava a una decadència inevitable.*
     The entire 15th century reflect.FUT.3SG the struggle of a country that did not resign itself to inevitable decadence

ii) With generic value: To express truths or facts with general validity, in the same way as the present does.

(7) *Un company com cal no <u>t'enganyarà</u> mai.*
     A proper colleague never fool.FUT.3SG you

iii) With rhetorical value: To announce a situation the speaker presents as obvious (8a), to invite the interlocutor to intervene (8b) or to emphasise what will be announced next (8c).

(8) a. *Com <u>comprendràs</u>, a mi això no em convé.*
     As you understand.FUT.2SG, this does not suit me
     b. *Et confessaré que jo no pensava anar-hi.*
     I confess.FUT.1SG that I did not intend to go
     c. *Et diré una cosa: t'estàs equivocant d'estratègia.*
     I tell.FUT.1SG you something: you're wrong about your strategy

c. Modal uses: Referring "to situations that have not yet occurred" (GEIEC, `https://geiec.iec.cat/text/20.5.3`; Author's transl.). These include the following.

i) With imperative value

   a. *Honraràs pare i mare*.
   Honour.FUT.32SG (thy) father and (thy) mother
   b. *Ara te n'aniràs a casa i demanaràs disculpes a l'àvia*.
   Now you go.FUT.2SG home and apologiseFUT to grandma

ii) In legal texts

(9)   *El centre d'informàtica proveirà els usuaris de la universitat de serveis informàtics i de telecomunicacions*.
   The computer centre provide.FUT.3SG university users with information technology and telecommunication services

iii) For a polite effect

(10)   *Ja em toca a mi? Doncs jo voldré un lluç de palangre grosset (dit al mercat)*.
   It's my turn? Well, I want.FUT.1SG a big longline hake (said at the market)

iv) For an intensive value (with nuances ranging from annoyance to disgust, disbelief or reply), with an idea of anticipation: it presents the situation as if it had to be confirmed by the interlocutor. The intensive value is common in interrogative sentences with an exclamatory intonation.

(11)   a. *Ara em vindràs amb aquesta?!*
   Now come.FUT.2SG to me with this?!
   b. *Tan injustos serem que no l'hàgim sabut perdonar?!*
   So unfair be.FUT.1PL that we couldn't forgive him?!

As an additional remark, both GIEC and GEIEC emphasise two contexts where the simple future is unacceptable – because it is considered a syntactic borrowing from Spanish.

It is not acceptable to use the simple future with conjectural value. For these cases, modal verbs are used (*deure* 'must', *poder* 'can') or adverbs of probability or possibility:

   - *Veig que badalla: deu tenir gana* (I see he yawns: he must be hungry)
   - *Fa molts badalls. Potser té gana* (He makes a lot of yawns. Maybe he's hungry)
   - **Veig que badalla: tindrà gana* (I see he yawns: he be.FUT.3SG hungry. Sp ^{OK}*Veo que bosteza: tendrá hambre*).

The future with concessive value, used to partially refute the statement of the interlocutor, is not acceptable either. In these cases, other resources must be chosen, such as verbs *deure* or *poder* and adverbs expressing possibility or probability:

> *Deu/Pot tenir molts diners, però viu com un miserable* (He must/may have a lot of money, but he lives like a wretch)
>
> **Tindrà molts diners, però viu com un miserable.* (He have.FUT.3SG a lot of money, but he lives like a wretch. Sp ^{OK} *Tendrá mucho dinero, pero vive como un miserable*)
> (GEIEC, `https://geiec.iec.cat/text/20.5.3`; Author's transl.)

A quick look at the above list shows that not all the described uses are distinct. To begin with, the so-called 'derived uses' do not deviate from the regular future time reference established as the basic meaning. So, in the 'narrative uses' in (6), the future denotes a past event not because this is an interpretive possibility of the future tense, but because the discourse situation has fictitiously moved back to a past time: the future remains a future in that context. The generic use in (7) is connected to the generic operator *mai* ('never'), which gives a persistence-in-time reading, and not to the simple future, which has its regular future time reference. Similarly, the examples in (8) have a clear future time reference, even if the interval between the time of speech and the projected eventuality is very short and mostly irrelevant.

The same applies to so-called 'modal uses', which GEIEC explicitly describes as referring to "situations that have not yet occurred", so they relate to scenarios in a time ahead of the speech time. The examples in (9)-(10) do not involve possible worlds in the traditional sense in modal logic. While modals express quantification over possible worlds (which can vehicle different degrees of epistemic commitment), the future signals a lack of evidence at the time of utterance. The sentences in (9) prescribe a course of action, rather than opening an array of possibilities. Because the eventualities in (9) describe desirable situations, over which the hearer has control, they easily acquire a directive interpretation. However, this is not an intrinsic property of the meaning of the future tense, but a by-product of several factors, including control, person, and social expectations, together with the meaning of the future itself. The same applies to (10), where a competent authority establishes a future course of action, thus giving rise to an instruction that must always be followed. These two examples relate to 'fossilised uses': as discussed above (§ 2.2), these are fixed expressions in limited registers and conventionalised phrases that have survived over time. They all have a formal or archaic flavour and are not part of the grammar internalised by native speakers in their natural environment. Finally, the use labelled as polite in (11) does not appear to be different from the rhetorical interpretations illustrated in (8) and described by GEIEC as a variety of derived, not modal, use: the eventuality is situated in the immediate future, not in a possible world. The same goes for the examples in (12), which exploit the contrast between what the future encodes and the current situation.

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An anonymous reviewer offers two additional examples as possible arguments for the existence of modal uses of the future in Catalan.

(12) a. *N'arribaràs a dir, de beneitures!* (Wheeler et al. 1999, 351)
     You get.FUT.2SG to say some stupid things!
     b. *T'atreviràs a negar-ho!* (Pérez Saldanya 2002, 2637–8)
     You dare.FUT.2SG deny it!

Both examples exhibit a mirative flavour due to the combination of future tense semantics with interrogative modality in a context where an undesirable eventuality is taking place. The contrast between the linguistic formulation and the context gives rise to the mirative interpretation (for more details, see Escandell-Vidal, Leonetti 2021). In (13a), the exclamative presupposes the truth of the prejacent ('You say [many] foolish things', with a covert degree quantifier), which is presented here by the speaker as an observable fact of which she has direct experience. By using the future tense, this behaviour is projected forward in the real world, as the natural continuation or development of an already attested event (in an inertia world: Dowty 1979; Varasdi 2017). The temporal interpretation is therefore based on the continuation of a present experience. Additional evidence supporting the temporal interpretation comes from the possibility of completing the utterance by the coda *si Deu no s'hi posa* (lit.: 'if God does not put himself in it', 'unless God intervenes'). This addition indicates that negative things will persist in the future in the real world unless there is direct action from God, as illustrated by the examples in (14).

(13) a. *N'arribaràs a dir, de beneitures, si Deu no s'hi posa!*
     You get.FUT.2SG to say some stupid things if God does not intervene!
     'You will end up saying such nonsense if God doesn't intervene!'
     b. *Ja en farém, de cosas, si Deu no s'hi posa!*
     We (=you) do.FUT.1PL some silly things, unless God intervenes!
     'You will keep up doing [silly] things unless God intervenes!'
     c. […] *és un que rebrà, si Déu no s'hi posa, ¿veritat, Tonet?* (Corpus Textual Informatitzat de la Llengua Catalana)
     'He will be punished unless God prevents it. Do you agree, Tonet?'

These utterances do not merely suggest possibilities; instead, they indicate the expected outcome of current circumstances projected into the future. Only divine intervention can alter the natural course of events. As shown in (14c), the coda can also occur in non-exclamative utterances. In addition, there is also a humorous, 'positive' counterpart to this expression (at least in the Balearic variety), indicating that things will go well unless something bad happens: *si es cuc no s'hi posa* (lit.: 'if the worm doesn't settle there', meaning 'unless

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something bad unexpectedly occurs'). This reinforces the idea that what is involved here is a temporal, not a modal, use.

As for (13b), it does not seem different from (8a), which GEIEC classifies as a derived (not modal) rhetorical use. The speaker envisages the imminent occurrence of an undesired eventuality (namely, the hearer daring to deny something obvious). This utterance's strength and mirative force derive from the speaker's perceptual access to a preparatory condition that will result in a not-yet-experienced eventuality.

If these considerations are correct, Catalan grammar permits only temporal readings of the future tense. This means that the future tense in Catalan is used strictly to indicate eventualities that will happen in the future along the timeline, whereas the other dimensions seem to be excluded. As for the normative remarks banning conjectural and concessive uses, it must be kept in mind that, though these uses occasionally occur due to Spanish influence, they are infrequent (see § 3.4 below). In fact, for most Catalan-speaking people, the prohibition on conjectural and concessive uses is not an external prescriptive imposition but an integral part of their internalised grammar.

3.2 The Simple Future in Spanish

The *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española* (RAE, ASALE 2009, § 23.14), the main reference grammar for Spanish, offers a new and more structured description of the values of the future tense. Instead of presenting an extensive list of different uses, it organises them into two main categories: those involving future time reference and those involving conjecture. This systematisation marks a significant shift in grammatical descriptions, as it categorises the values based on their referential properties, moving away from previously unstructured and chaotic lists. According to RAE-ASALE (2009), values otherwise identified as requests, orders, recommendations, promises, commitments, warnings, threats, or suggestions are all instances of future time reference. The classical labels do not correspond to inherent properties of the future morphology alone; rather, they are the product of computing the semantic features encoded by the simple future with other components of the sentence (lexical meaning, person, control) and pragmatic factors (cost/benefit balance, desirability of the outcomes). The distinction between a promise and a threat, an instruction and an expression of goodwill has to do with pragmatic factors. This interaction helps create more specific subcategories that do not change the fundamental classification as expressions of future time reference.

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(14) a. *Cumpliré mi palabra.*
I keep.FUT.1SG my word > promise
b. *Te recuperarás muy pronto.*
You get.FUT.2SG well very soon > expression of good wishes
c. *Te arrepentirás.*
You regret.FUT.2SG it > threat
d. *Le pedirás perdón.*
You ask.FUT.2SG for forgiveness > order
e. *Un poco de limonada te sentará bien.*
A little lemonade do.FUT.3SG you good > recommendation
f. *Te harás daño.*
You hurt.FUT.2SG yourself > warning
g. *Me disculpará usted.*
You_FORMAL excuse.FUT.3SG me > apology
h. *No te lo tendré en cuenta.*
I not hold.FUT.1SG it against you > exoneration
i. *Si debe permanecer de pie, se sentará diez minutos cada hora.*
If you_FORMAL must stand, you_FORMAL sit.FUT.3SG for ten minutes every hour > prescription
j. *El acusado cumplirá diez años de prisión mayor.*
The defendant serve.FUT.3SG ten years in a major prison > sentence

The second main category includes uses that express a supposition or a conjecture, i.e., indicating uncertainty about current events or situations

(15) a. *Pensará que somos tontos.*
He think.FUT.3SG we are fools > supposition
b. *Llaman a la puerta. Será el cartero.*
They are knocking at the door. It be.FUT.3SG the postman > conjecture

After establishing this twofold distinction between temporal and conjectural uses, RAE-ASALE (2009) says that conjectural interpretations are modal, based on the possibility of paraphrasing them with modal adverbs.

The future has a modal value in these contexts. The paraphrases it allows are formed with adverbs of probability (*probablemente, posiblemente, seguramente*: 'probably, possibly, surely') or doubt (*tal vez, quizá, a lo mejor*: 'maybe, perhaps, possibly'), in both cases with verbs in the present tense:

Sabrás que ya no vivo aquí. ~ Probablemente sepas que ya no vivo aquí.
You know.FUT.2SG that I no longer live here ~ You probably know that I no longer live here
Estarán en la cafetería. ~ Tal vez están en la cafetería.
They be.FUT.3PL in the cafeteria ~ Maybe they are in the cafeteria
(RAE, ASALE 2009, § 23.14h. Author' transl.)

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I believe, however, that the equation between conjectural and modal uses lacks a solid foundation. Firstly, the modal paraphrases are only loosely equivalent to the future-tensed versions and are not interchangeable in the same contexts. As discussed in § 2.3 above, there are good ontological reasons to distinguish modal worlds from non-experienced facts. The modal dimension involves possible worlds as 'unreal' alternatives to reality, while the conjectural interpretations refer to events in the real world that fall beyond the speaker's direct perception. Since conjectures are hypotheses about real events, attempting to explain observed states of affairs by invoking a real cause, they are better treated as part of the perceptual space of others. Possibilities, by contrast, are representations grounded in alternative worlds. Adopting a three-dimensional model can easily accommodate this difference in a motivated way, explaining why the modal and evidential dimensions are ontologically distinct. I will turn to this issue below while discussing Portuguese modal interpretations.

3.3 The Simple Future in Portuguese

The *Nova Gramática do Português Contemporâneo* (Cuhna, Cintra 2017) can be considered as the standard Portuguese descriptive grammar. According to it, the uses of the simple future are characterised as follows (Cuhna, Cintra 2017, 472-4).

a. To indicate certain or probable future events, after the moment of speaking:

(16) *As aulas começarão depois de amanhã*
      The classes start.FUT.3PL the day after tomorrow

b. To express uncertainty (probability, doubt, supposition) about current events:

(17) a. *Quem está aqui? Será um ladrão?*
      Who is here? Be.FUT.3SG a thief?
      b. *Há uma várzea no meu sonho,*
      Mas não sei onde será…
      There is a meadow in my dream,
      But I don't know where it be.FUT.3SG

c. As a polite form of the present tense:

(18) *Não, não posso ser acusado. Dirá o senhor: mas como foi que aconteceram? E eu*
      lhe direi: sei lá. Aconteceram: eis tudo.

No, I cannot be accused. The lord say.FUT.3SG: but how did it happen? And I say. FUT.31SG: I don't know. It happened: that's all

d. As an expression of a plea, a wish, an order, in which case the tone of voice can attenuate or reinforce the imperative character:

(19) a. *Lerás porém algum dia*
       Meus versos, d'alma arrancados,
       D'amargo pranto banhados…
       You read.FUT.2SG, however, one day
       My verses, torn from my soul,
       Bathed in bitter tears…
       b. *Honrarás pai e mãe.*
        Honour.FUT.2SG father and mother

e. In conditional statements, when referring to events of probable realisation:

(20) *Se pensares bem, verás que não é isto.*
       If you think carefully, you see.FUT.2SG that this is not the case

f. In narratives, to indicate that one action happened after another in the past (thus resembling the use of the historical present):

(21) *João casou-se em 1922, mas Pedro esperará ainda dez anos para constituir família.*
       João got married in 1922, but Pedro wait.FUT.3SG another ten years to start a family

As in the previous cases, the Portuguese interpretations revised so far can be organised into simpler and more coherent categories. The polite use illustrated in (19), the wish in (20a) and the use in conditional statements in (21) are all instances of future time reference. In fact, the example in (19) parallels examples (8) from Catalan and (15g) from Spanish, where the future tense is used to soften requests or statements by fictitiously delaying the eventuality to a later time. There is nothing special about the wish expressed in (20a) either: the first verse, with its direct appellation to a reader who can control an activity, refers to an event located in a future time. Similarly, conditional statements such as those in (21) have nothing unique: the simple future indicates future outcomes that depend on certain conditions being met.

   On the other hand, orders and commandments, as in example (20b), while keeping their temporal orientation, belong to the non-active system discussed in § 2.2 above. The simple future is not a standard way of issuing commands, but a cultivated resource strategically invoking intertextuality and archaic uses. As for the narrative

use in example (22), referring to a future-in-the-past is not a distinctive feature of the simple future but the result of a shift in the deictic centre. This is a resource used in storytelling to present events as if they were unfolding before the reader's or the listener's eyes – a common cognitive strategy to create dynamic temporal frameworks within a narrative. This possibility is available for other tenses and in other languages.

The examples in (18) deserve a more detailed discussion. Both are used to illustrate uncertainty. However, the two examples are not alike. Example (18a) can be labelled as conjectural, since it offers an explanation for an observed real fact: perhaps some unusual noises are explained as the result of a thief having entered the house. As one of the anonymous reviewers has pointed out, this use crucially requires the interrogative modality. This does not mean, however, that conjectures are impossible in the declarative modality, as shown by the example in (23) (provided by the reviewer).

(22) *Neste momento, os assaltantes estarão fora do país.*
     At this time, the robbers be.FUT.3PL out of the country

Marques (2020) explains this contrast in terms of the kind of evidence available to the speaker. The future is ruled out in (18a) because the speaker has perceptual evidence that supports her utterance, even if this is indirect evidence. In the postman example, the perceived eventuality is the ringing of the bell. This perceived fact enters as a premise in an inference also invoking pieces of general knowledge (that the postman usually comes at this time) and specific private information (that the interlocutors are not expecting anyone else). Therefore, for Portuguese it is the fact that one of the premises is located in the speaker's own perceptual field that excludes the use of the future tense with the declarative modality. In (23), by contrast, there is no immediate sensory evidence for the conjecture expressed and only general knowledge is invoked, so the use of the simple future is legitimate here.

In (18b), the situation is different: the meadow exists in the poet's dreams (in an alternative world), but she does not know its exact location. The future-tense sentence is not an explanation of an unknown reality, but the expression of a possibility, reinforced in the present case by its occurrence as an indirect interrogative. While the present tense would have also been adequate, the simple future opens a world of possible, alternative options more explicitly. The examples do not reflect ignorance but indeterminacy and vagueness. Here, the interpretation is modal because it allows different alternatives to coexist.

Modal uses have been described for Portuguese in the specialised literature. Oliveira and Lopes (1995, 111) underline that the future "is used for future time reference with a very strong modal information

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and sometimes is basically modal" and provide the following examples and the subsequent comment.

(23)   a. *Sera (FUT) verdade o que dizes (PRES) [mas eu não acredito (PRES)].*
       It may be true what you say [but I don't believe it]
       b. *Sera (FUT) a tua opinião [mas não é a minha].*
       It may be your opinion [but it is not mine]
       c. *A esta hora ja estarã (PUT) em Nova Iorque.*
       At this hour he will be already in New York

In the examples above we can observe that the Future does not give any temporal information but is basically modal. This is understandable since the future time is not factual; so the Future can be used to convey what is possible or probable. If we substitute the Future by the Present in those sentences, the modal effect is lost and (24a-b) would seem paradoxical. If we substitute it by *ir* + infinitive we get a reference to the future, but it cannot constitute a paraphrase of the sentences above (Oliveira, Lopes 1995, 111).

The translations offered by Oliveira and Lopes (1995) use a modal for examples (24a) and (24b) to convey the idea that the propositional content is presented as a possibility. In contrast, for example (24c), they use the future tense. Again, it must be highlighted that the examples in (24a) and (24b) do not express a conjecture (i.e., the best explanation for an unknown situation); rather, they present the propositional content as a mere possibility. The syntactic pattern in (24a) and (24b) is usually called 'concessive' because the construction acknowledges a point that might contradict another proposition, though this is not the case here (see the discussion in § 5.3). As discussed before, these uses are banned in Catalan but perfectly acceptable in Spanish (see §§ 3.1-3.2).

It is worth noting that the Spanish translations of (24a) and (24b) sound odd:

(24)   a. #*Sera verdad lo que dices pero yo no me lo creo.*
       b. #*Sera tu opinión, pero no es la mía.*

These Spanish examples are as odd and paradoxical as they would be in Portuguese (according to the authors) if the future tense were substituted by the present tense. This is an intuition shared by all the native speakers of Spanish consulted, as well as by Oliveira and Silva themselves (p.c.). The reason is, I argue, that Spanish does not have purely modal interpretations, so the only possible interpretation for (25a) and (25b) is as conjectures.

Modal uses in Portuguese can also be exemplified by the following examples from Cunha (2019, 40). The modal values associated with the simple future are quite evident and seem equivalent to an

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epistemic modal. Again, these examples are impossible in Spanish, which would require an overt modal or a reportative conditional.

(25) a. *Por outro lado, o Partido Popular, que se opõe veementemente a laços mais estreitos com a Europa, ganhará (= pode ganhar) mais um deputado, ficando com 26, segundo esta projecção inicial.* (Cunha 2019, 41)
'On the other hand, the Popular Party, which vehemently opposes closer ties with Europe, may gain another deputy, bringing its total to 26, according to this initial projection.'
b. *O "pequeno timoneiro", 91 anos em Agosto, se lá chegar, já não é visto em público desde Fevereiro de 1994 e estará gravemente doente.* (Cunha 2019, 43)
'The 'little helmsman', who will be 91 in August, if he makes it, has not been seen in public since February 1994 and might be severely ill.'

These facts suggest, therefore, that Portuguese allows a broader variety of uses, including temporal, conjectural and modal interpretations.

3.4 The Ibero-Romance Simple Future in 21st-century Corpora

After discussing the uses of the simple future found in descriptive grammars and specialised literature, a brief examination of corpus data can help to understand the extent and limits of variation among Ibero-Romance languages. According to the data gathered by Lara Bermejo (2021) based on 21st-century corpora,[16] the situation can be summarised as shown in Figures 4-6. The maps reveal a landscape that aligns with the descriptions found in the literature.

The map of temporal uses shows that these are prevalent only in Catalan varieties, where the simple future is the preferred resource to indicate future time reference. The Balearic Islands' variety shows the most consistent pattern: the simple future is used exclusively for future time reference, never for conjectures or to express a possibility. Valencian varieties, in contrast, show a mixed behaviour, with a prevalence of temporal uses, though not as strict as in other varieties. Spanish is the language where temporal uses are less frequent, while Galician and Portuguese show an intermediate state. Thus, the map demonstrates that all varieties have temporal uses, though not in the same proportion [fig. 4].

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16 For Catalan, *Corpus Oral Dialectal* (COD), *Corpus Dialectal del Català* (DIALCAT); for Spanish, *Corpus Oral y Sonoro del Español Rural* (COSER); for Galician, *Corpus Oral Informatizado da Lingua Galega* (CORILGA); for Portuguese, *Corpus Dialetal para o Estudo da Sintaxe* (CORDIAL-SIN).

Conjectural uses involve the simple future as a resource to express hypotheses and speculations, i.e., to suggest real-world explanations for something unknown. These interpretations are absent in the Balearic Islands and most of Catalonia. Conjectures in the future are very frequent, by contrast, in Spanish and also in Galician. Portuguese allows the expression of conjecture but with a lower frequency. In a sense, the map of conjectural uses is the mirror image of the map of temporal uses **[fig. 5]**.

The map of modal uses seems to require no specific comment. Only Portuguese illustrates this possibility, predominantly through the simple future in the subjunctive mood (not considered here). The rest of the Ibero-Romance varieties simply lack this option **[fig. 6]**.

The overall conclusion is, therefore, that uses illustrated in corpora confirm the data found in grammatical descriptions. Corpora reveal the preferences expressed in a series of elicited tasks with specific contexts of use – ultimately, a matter of performance, not a representation of internalised grammatical knowledge. Consequently, whereas some results are neat and clear (such as the absence of modal uses in all languages except Portuguese), others might seem less conclusive. However, the trends and the contrasts are robust enough to support the insights of descriptive grammarians. This is the landscape that calls for an explanation in theoretical terms.

4 Semantic Micro-parameters for the Ibero-Romance Future

The data from the previous section show that Ibero-Romance languages differ in the number and the status of available readings. Catalan (allowing temporal readings only) occupies one end of the scale, with the most restrictive system; Spanish and Galician occupy an intermediate position, with temporal and conjectural readings; Portuguese is at the opposite end, with temporal, conjectural and modal readings. This distribution is shown in Table 1.[17]

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[17] Table 1 represents standardised grammatical systems without considering intralinguistic variation. The differences between Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands within the Catalan-speaking regions are not considered. Table 1 does not reflect preference of use either. For European Spanish, the preferred uses are conjectural (81%), not temporal (19%) (Lara Bermejo 2021). This trend is even stronger in American varieties, where the 'go-future' and the simple present have become far more common, and temporal interpretations are almost absent in many varieties (Sedano 2006). The same applies to Portuguese, where the use of the future to express posteriority is rare and stylistically marked (Marques 2020). The situation in Portuguese is more complex because of the existence of a simple future in the subjunctive mood, which is the preferred form for modal interpretations.
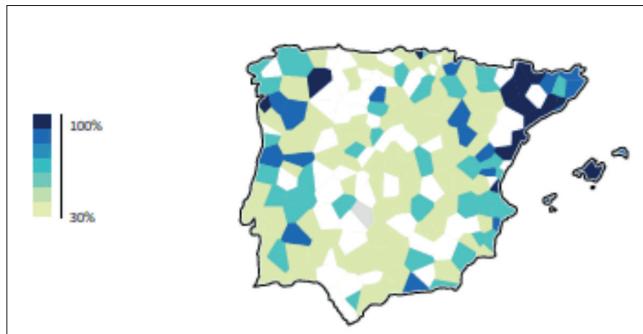
Figure 4 Temporal uses of the simple future (Lara Bermejo 2021, 149)
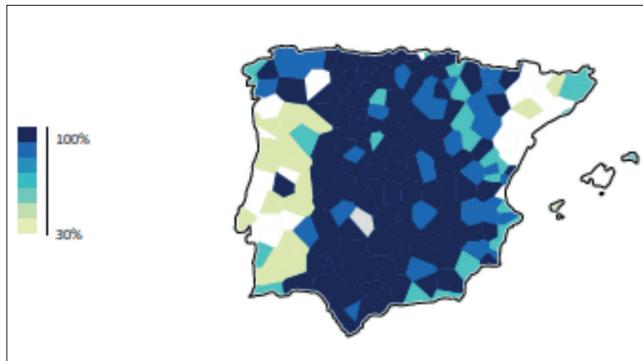
Figure 5 Conjectural uses of the simple future (Lara Bermejo 2021, 150)
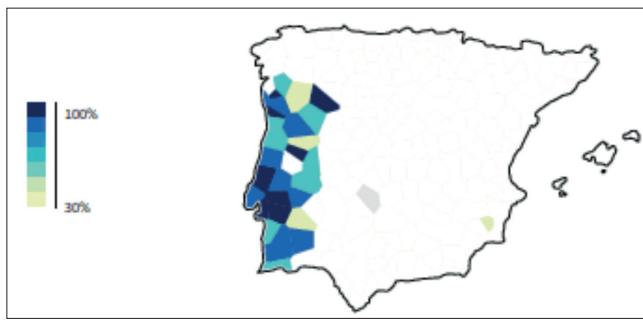
Figure 6 Modal uses of the simple future (Lara Bermejo 2021, 150)

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Table 1   Interpretations of the future tense in Ibero-Romance languages

		Catalan	Spanish/ Galician	Portuguese
Interpretations	Temporal	+	+	+
	Conjectural	-	+	+
	Concessive	-	+	+
	Modal	-	-	+
	Reportative	-	-	+
	Deductive	-	-	+

In this section, I argue that the attested interpretations and their distribution across languages are not random but derive from a common logic. The resulting distribution can be accounted for with the tools developed in Escandell-Vidal (2014; 2022), to which I will add some slight refinements and modifications.

The hypothesis of the two-layered system (§§ 2.3-2.5) is that all Romance languages share the same core meaning, represented by the formula FUT=(IS ⊂ DS) & (ES ⊄ IS). According to this formula, the meaning encoded by the simple future imposes two conditions on the interpretation of future-tensed sentences: the existence of a relation of inclusion between the information situation IS and the discourse situation DS; and the existence of a non-accessibility relation between IS and the eventuality situation ES. Since ES must be outside IS, and IS must be included in DS, the consequence is that ES must be outside the speaker's perceptual field.

Interlinguistic variation results from different choices in a small set of micro-parameters that place additional constraints on some components of the formula. In Escandell-Vidal (2022), Catalan was described as imposing conditions on the relevance of the SPF (as a result of selecting [-deictic]) and also a [+forward] feature, forcing temporal interpretations. No parameter was suggested to account for the differences between Spanish and Portuguese.

Here, I suggest a modification of that proposal and argue that the only micro-parameters relevant to explain the differences among Ibero-Romance languages are those establishing constraints on the legitimate dimensions for the location of ES. Since there are three dimensions (temporal, modal and perceptual space), the hypothesis is that differences are limited to these three available possibilities. In this respect, the current proposal refines that in Escandell-Vidal (2022) by invoking fewer categories, thus providing a simpler and more powerful explanation.

4.1 The [±T] Parameter

In a language that allows only temporal interpretations, a future-tensed sentence can only be interpreted as indicating that the ES is not accessible from the speech situation because it belongs to a future time. Therefore, the sole legitimate dimension for the location of the represented, non-accessible eventuality is the temporal one.

The first micro-parameter needed to account for variation among Ibero-Romance languages targets the temporal dimension. It can be labelled as [±T] and controls the location of ES along the temporal axis. This parameter has two values. When the marked value [+T] is selected, an extra condition is added to the semantic representation of the core meaning of the future tense, requiring that ES be obligatorily located forward along the temporal line. The ES is inaccessible from the IS and DS because it is positioned in the future, a time to which the speaker has no perceptual access. In languages selecting the [+T] value, only the temporal dimension qualifies as a legitimate space to establish the non-accessibility of the ES. The selection of the marked value [+T] creates an additional ordering relation between DS and ES: [DS > ES]. [+T] languages allow only temporal, forward-looking readings. Interpretations that place the eventuality in other dimensions are excluded.

In contrast, languages selecting [-T] do not impose this condition. Remember that [-T] represents the unmarked option (the one not imposing a condition), not the negative one. Therefore, [-T] languages can still have temporal interpretations, though these are not mandatory as they are in [+T] languages. Unless further restricted, [-T] languages can accommodate a wider range of interpretations in addition to the purely temporal one, allowing the simple future to represent not only eventualities that will occur in the future but also possibilities, predictions, or hypothetical scenarios.

Therefore, the [±T] parameter makes it possible to establish the primary distinction between Catalan, on the one hand, and Spanish (Galician) and Portuguese, on the other. Catalan selects the positive value [+T], determining that the only legitimate space for the ES to be located is ahead in time. In contrast, Spanish and Portuguese select the unmarked value [-T], allowing the ES to be placed on the temporal axis as well as in other dimensions. This analysis aligns with the characterisations found in descriptive grammars and is corroborated by corpus data.

Needless to say, [+T] languages permit a wide variety of more detailed temporal interpretations, ranging from private intentions to scheduled events, from directions for action to predictions based on objective knowledge, from imminent events to astronomically distant ones, as demonstrated by the examples in section 3. However, all these interpretations develop from a single abstract instruction,

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requiring the represented ES to be ahead of IS and DS. As previously mentioned, this semantic import can be further exploited for additional illocutionary purposes, such as politeness, irony, surprise and adding vividness to a narrative. In all these cases, it is not the use of the future tense *per se* that has various meanings and encodes different interpretations. Instead, it is the interplay between the semantic features of the future tense and other grammatical features (such as person, control, generic operators, adverbials, and sentence type) along with contextual factors (such as the contrast with the current situation and the desirability of the outcome) that gives rise to interpretations that may be paraphrased in different ways, thereby creating the illusion of different readings. The encoded meaning provides a basic schema for constructing the final interpretation, and other linguistic and non-linguistic resources are then recruited to flesh out this abstract meaning with additional nuances.

4.2   The [±S] Parameter

Spanish, Galician and Portuguese are all [-T] languages, which entails that the non-accessibility relation between IS and Es is not restricted to the temporal dimension. Spanish, Galician and Portuguese also have conjectural interpretations, which indicates that eventualities out of the speaker's perceptual field can also be treated as non-accessible, together with temporal ones. However, only Portuguese has modal interpretations, which suggest that a second parameter must be in force that accounts for this difference.

A conjecture is a speculative proposition about a present state of affairs occurring in a space of the real world to which the speaker has no direct access. Therefore, languages such as Spanish and Galician, which allow conjectural readings but lack modal interpretations, seem to have a second condition establishing that the perceptual fields of other individuals (when non-overlapping with the speaker's own) also qualify as non-accessible locations.

The second parameter can be labelled [±S] and controls the access to others' perceptual spaces. Spanish and Galician select the marked value [+S]. This means that for these languages there is only another option for the location of the non-accessible ES: the perceptual field of a different individual. The speaker cannot have direct access to an eventuality that is outside her own perceptual field, even if the eventuality belongs to the real world. A conjecture expresses a present eventuality occurring in a non-accessible space.

The selection of the [+S] value creates an additional relation of simultaneity between the represented eventuality ES and the discourse situation DS: [DS, ES]. The two situations occupy the same temporal coordinates, though each is located in a different perceptual

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space. The [+S] value also entails that the simple future is not licensed for eventualities in the modal dimension.

Since the [±S] parameter is active only for languages having previously selected the [-T] value, Spanish and Galician are both [-T] [+S] languages. This means that inaccessible future times and others' perceptual spaces are the two legitimate dimensions where the non-accessible ES can be located. Eventualities in a future time and a different set of spatial coordinates are treated alike.

In contrast, languages that select the unmarked value [-S] place no such constraint. Crucially, this opens the option of having also modal interpretations, i.e., of locating the non-accessible ES in a possible world as well. Therefore, [-S] languages, being also [-T] languages, treat all three dimensions as legitimate options for the location of the non-accessible ES: they have temporal, conjectural and modal interpretations.

4.3 A Structured System of Distinctions

The two parameters described determine how the formula of the core meaning of the future tense is further constrained for Ibero-Romance languages. The resulting model can be represented as shown in Figure 7.
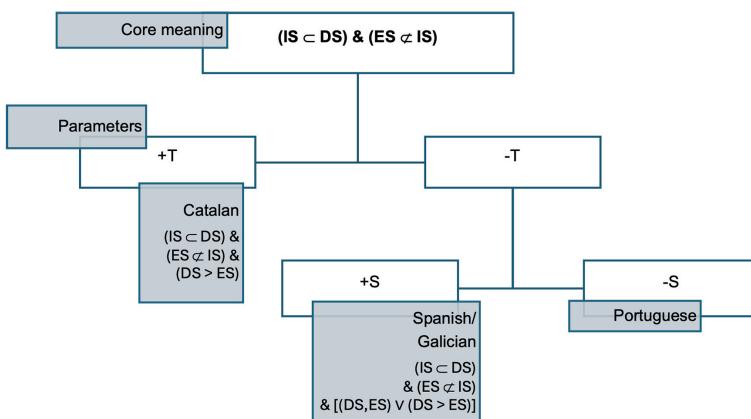
Figure 7 Core meaning and micro-parameters for the Ibero-Romance simple future

The model developed here aims to support the monosemic hypothesis by emphasising that the future tense has a single meaning, represented by its core layer and the parametric choices selected by each language. These two layers establish a unified set of semantic

features for each language, constraining the range of possible interpretations by defining the dimensions where the non-accessible eventuality can be located.

The meaning encoded by the future tense is neither temporal, conjectural, nor modal. None of these interpretations represents THE meaning of the simple future; rather, they are different ways of satisfying a single, more abstract interpretative instruction to interpret the propositional content as representing an eventuality outside the speaker's perceptual field. Temporal interpretations are just one way to satisfy this encoded instruction, as are conjectural and modal readings. The fact that different languages permit different types of interpretations merely indicates that each one establishes its own range of options, not to be confused with distinct meanings.

5   Discussion

5.1   The Simple Future as an Indirect Evidential

Characterising the simple future as an anti-experiential present amounts to saying that it is a marker of indirect evidentiality. As assumed in the literature (Willett 1988), the main divide among evidential distinctions is set between direct and indirect evidence. The speaker has direct evidence when she has perceptual or experiential access to an eventuality; otherwise, she has indirect evidence.

The idea that the future is an anti-experiential present is sometimes misunderstood in two ways. Some interpret it as suggesting that the future tense encodes two meanings: the temporal meaning and a new evidential meaning. Others believe that the future encodes only an evidential meaning at the expense of its temporal import. However, from the above proposal, it should be clear that both conclusions are wrong.

The three basic interpretations of future-tensed sentences (future eventualities, conjectures and possibilities) are manifestations of the same non-accessibility relation across the three dimensions where an eventuality outside the SPF can be located. All varieties of temporal readings (predictions, scheduled events, plans, proposals, commitments or directions for action, to name just a few) express eventualities located in the temporal dimension ahead of DS. As for conjectures and possibilities, these also fall outside the speaker's perceptual field, though in different dimensions. There are indeed strong ontological grounds for distinguishing between unobserved facts, on the one hand, and ideas in alternative worlds, on the other. Conjectures attempt to explain situations by positing non-observed causes presented as real events outside the speaker's immediate

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perception. In contrast, possibilities involve hypothetical alternatives to reality. Adopting a three-dimensional model makes this difference clear.

Indirect evidentials fall into two categories: inferential and reportative. Inferential markers indicate that the speaker has inferred or deduced the informational content based on indirect signs, such as a perceived situation, general or specific knowledge, or a combination of both; conversely, information is marked as reported when the speaker has acquired it from another source as a result of some communicative activity: second-hand report, hearsay or rumour.

The three primary uses of the future tense depend on the speaker's mental processes, based on subjective or objective knowledge. As a result, the future tense might seem to mark a specific subclass of indirect evidence: inferential evidence. However, this does not cover the facts accurately: firstly, because in Portuguese, reportative readings are also present; and secondly, because in Spanish, the future tense is prohibited for expressing deductions, a subset of inferential uses. Consequently, the situation is more intricate than it initially appears. These issues will be explored in the following sections.

5.2 Conjectures and Deductions

Consider inference first. As is well known, not all inferences are of a kind. A further distinction must be drawn between intuitive and reflective inferences (Plungian 2001; Mercier, Sperber 2009). Intuitive inferences draw plausible conclusions in a fast and automatic way, without considering all the possibilities or gathering all the relevant information. Reflective inferences, in contrast, involve a conscious reasoning process that postulates a causal connection between a set of well-established premises and a conclusion, following a valid procedure. Conjectures are typical instances of intuitive inferences, whereas deductions are cases of reflective inference.

Spanish and Portuguese behave quite differently in this respect. In Spanish, only conjectures are possible. Portuguese, in contrast, can convey conjectures and deductions.

Conjectures have a number of distinguishing properties: i) they are the result of an intuitive process (i.e., a case of abductive, not deductive reasoning); ii) by putting forward a conjecture, the speaker offers the best explanation that comes to her mind for a situation; iii) the speaker does not commit herself to the truth of her propositional content; and iv) the explanation is presented as part of the real world, though the eventuality belongs to a different space, inaccessible to the speaker at speech time. This latter property places conjectures in the dimension of the perceptual space of other individuals.

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Both Spanish and Portuguese define others' perceptual space as a legitimate dimension for non-accessible ES. The specific conditions of use, however, are not alike. Spanish can express conjectures about observed facts, the only condition being that the speaker cannot provide better grounds for the propositional content than her own mental processes (Escandell-Vidal 2014). Portuguese, in contrast, cannot. As Marques (2020, 15-16) puts it, in Portuguese, "the partial knowledge on which the speaker bases his inference does not include facts available at the context of utterance". This suggests that there are additional constraints on the status and nature of the situation motivating the conjecture: in Spanish, it can include worldly facts, whereas in Portuguese, it can contain only representations.

However, this is not a problem for the model presented here. The requirement in the core meaning of the simple future establishes that the ES cannot be included in the IS. It places no further conditions on other facts that can be causally related to the ES without being the ES. Therefore, both Spanish and Portuguese satisfy the condition on the non-accessibility of ES, though Portuguese does so by adding extra constraints. The competition with other legitimate forms to express conjectures, such as the modal verbs, might have forced this restriction. Determining the exact nature of this requirement is beyond the scope of this paper since the constraints involved do not target the situations related by the formula.

Portuguese diverges from Spanish also in the possibility of using the future to indicate the result of deductive reasoning, i.e., to introduce a conclusion drawn from explicit, objective premises. This is illustrated in the examples in (27), both from Marques (2020, 7).

(26) a. *Na última contagem havia 73 pessoas inscritas. Entretanto já passou algum tempo e houve divulgação, mas o programa não é muito apelativo. Por isso, o número atual não* ultrapassará *as 100 inscrições*.
    'At the last count there were 73 people enrolled. Meanwhile, some time has passed and there have been publicity actions, but the program is not very appealing. Therefore, the current number will not surpass 100 people inscribed.'
    b. *Sabemos que os casos mais complexos são enviados para outra unidade e que o caso da Ana era particularmente complexo. Portanto,* terá *sido encaminhado para os serviços centrais*.
    'We know that the more complex cases are sent to another unit and that Ana's case was particularly complex. Therefore, it will have been sent to the central services.'

In the corresponding Spanish examples, the simple future would be excluded. This might seem undesirable since deduction is a subclass of indirect evidence. However, in the model presented here, deduction aligns with modal uses, not with conjectures. Conjectures present unobserved facts as the explanation for a situation, thus locating

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the eventuality in a non-accessible region of the real world. By contrast, the conclusion of a deductive process is a proposition derived from combining premises through a valid procedure, not an unobserved worldly fact in the perceptual space of others. Reflective inferences are demonstrative or apodictic processes and are, therefore, true in all possible worlds by definition. What is involved in deduction, therefore, is universal quantification over possible worlds, rather than the location of an eventuality in a non-accessible experiential space.

If deductions are a kind of modal use, it is no surprise that Portuguese can use the future to express the conclusions of demonstrative processes. Portuguese licenses the simple future to express eventualities in the modal dimension. The fact that Spanish does not allow this use follows from the broader principle that excludes the modal dimension as a legitimate space for the simple future. In this respect, Spanish aligns with other Romance languages such as French and Italian, which do not permit the future tense for deductive inferences either (see Dendale 2001 for French and Pietrandrea 2005 for Italian).

5.3   Reportative Readings

Reportative evidence is the second subclass of indirect evidence. Portuguese is the only Ibero-Romance language that uses the simple future for reportative purposes. The examples in (26) above from Cunha (2021) and the ones in (28), from Marques (2020), illustrate this possibility.

(27) a. *(Segundo o INE,) a taxa de desemprego* <u>*estará*</u> *atualmente em 9,3%*.
      'According to the NSI, the unemployment rate will now be at 9.3%.'
      b. *(De acordo com a polícia,) o suspeito* <u>*terá feito*</u> *reféns*.
      'According to police, the suspect will have taken hostages.'

The reported nature of these examples is clear from the frames that identify the source of the information. This use seems legitimate since the speaker has no direct evidence about the eventuality at speech time. However, the fact that the speaker is reproducing information obtained from others suggests that the situation where the propositional content was acquired is in the past, not included in the discourse situation as predicted in the model. In fact, Spanish would use the so-called journalistic conditional in these contexts, to emphasise that the information was acquired previously. How do these examples fit in the model presented here?

Crucial in these examples is the need to identify overtly the information source. Without this, these utterances would be interpreted as conjectures. This suggests that in Portuguese, reported pieces of

information are treated as part of the perceptual/epistemic space of other individuals (or institutions), provided that the source is explicitly named. My hypothesis is, therefore, that in Portuguese the future tense can locate not only worldly facts but also propositions in the space of others. If this explanation is correct, reportative uses can be considered part of the subclass of readings related to spaces in the real world that fall outside the speaker's own. Some adjustments would be needed to account for this requirement. Again, I will not pursue this issue here since it is not related to the three situations in the model.

Knowledge obtained from others may also play a role in determining the falsehood of a future-tensed sentence, even in non-reportative environments – an issue raised by one of the anonymous reviewers. The reviewer writes:

> Consider a situation in which it is part of the common knowledge of the participants that Comet X passes through Earth's orbit on January 15th. The sentence *O cometa X passará pela órbita terrestre no próximo dia 1 de dezembro* ('Comet X will pass through Earth's orbit on the 1st of December') is clearly false, even though it is not part of the evidence of the speaker and hearer; however, if the absence of perceptual information at the utterance time is the only relevant source to license the simple future, it should be considered true, contrary to facts.

If the sentence *O cometa X passará pela órbita terrestre no próximo dia 1 de dezembro* seems "false", it is not because it does not correspond to the facts, but because it misreports the information provided. What is crucial here is that the speaker reproduces information learned from others. The use of the future tense is not the speaker's but the astronomers' choice. Therefore, I would say that *Comet X will pass through Earth's orbit on January 15th* accurately reflects astronomers' predictions, whereas *Comet X will pass through Earth's orbit on the 1st of December* does not. In this situation, we will be more inclined to refute the utterance by saying *You are wrong*, or *You got it wrong*, rather than *That's false*.

Therefore, in this scenario, rather than saying that the sentence is false, I would argue that neither *Comet X will pass through Earth's orbit on January 15th* nor *Comet X will pass through Earth's orbit on the 1st of December* can be true at speech time, as there is no actual state-of-affairs that exemplifies those propositions yet. As of today, despite the accuracy of astronomers' calculations, it is impossible to know for certain whether 'Comet X passing through Earth's orbit on the 15th of January' will eventually be a worldly fact, given that several unforeseen, catastrophic events could still prevent this from happening.

5.4   Concessive Readings

Finally, let me add a quick note on so-called concessive readings. These are found in examples like (29) and (30).

(28) A: – *Juan es muy inteligente*.
         Juan is very intelligent
         B: – *Será muy inteligente, pero no estudia*.
         He be.FUT.3SG very intelligent, but he doesn't study (enough)

(29) A: – *Estás desvairada*. (from Boléo 1973 *apud* Marques 2020)
         You are out of your mind
         B: – *Sim, estarei. Mas que me deixem*.
         Yes, I be.FUT.3SG. But leave me alone

As the above examples illustrate, concessive readings occur only in very specific discourse settings: when speaker B refutes a statement by speaker A, repeating A's words in the future tense and adding an adversative clause to invalidate or diminish the argumentative force of the previous statement. Two considerations are in order here: first, there is nothing concessive in the future *per se*; instead, it is the whole structure and the entire discourse situation that creates this interpretation; and second, the future-tensed sentence must repeat the same propositional content from the previous conversational turn.

I propose that concessive uses of the future tense strategically exploit conjectural interpretations. Specifically, concessive interpretations require a context where the speaker presents the propositional content that the interlocutor has just uttered as something that is not part of her current perceptual experience. This sets up a contrastive or adversative dynamic: by not accepting the previous assertion, the speaker distances herself from her interlocutor, reinforcing the refutative intention. This use exploits the same mechanism as irony, where the contrast between the attested situation and the utterance content creates a distancing effect.

This context-dependency interpretation is key to understanding concessive uses. The use of modals in English translations should not obscure the fact that a very specific context is required, one in which a previous statement with the same content has been uttered.

6   Conclusions

In this paper, I have argued that a monosemic account of the simple future in Ibero-Romance languages is feasible despite the apparent diversity in interpretations. The active and productive grammar of

the simple future can be explained through a two-layered system, as proposed by Escandell-Vidal (2022), comprising a core meaning and a set of semantic micro-parameters. The core meaning is represented by the formula FUT=(IS ⊂ DS) & (ES ⊄ IS). The first conjunct establishes an inclusion relation between the information situation IS and the discourse situation DS. The second conjunct imposes a non-accessibility relation between IS and the eventuality situation ES.

While adhering to the general framework in Escandell-Vidal (2022), I have suggested a modified version in which variation among Ibero-Romance languages involves only micro-parameters that define the legitimate dimension where the ES can be located: temporal, modal and perceptual. To this end, only two semantic micro-parameters are needed: [±T] and [±S].

[±T] governs the obligatoriness of temporal readings. The [+T] value imposes temporal readings as the only dimension where the non-accessible ES can be located; the [-T] value is the unmarked option, placing no such constraint.

When the [-T] value is selected, a second parameter [±S] activates. It specifies the availability of others' perceptual spaces as a legitimate dimension for a non-accessible ES. The [+S] value imposes conjectural interpretations, specifying that only the perceptual space of other individuals is a legitimate option; the [-S] value, in contrast, leaves open the whole array of possibilities.

Together, these two parameters determine how the future tense is used and interpreted in each Ibero-Romance language. The differences among Ibero-Romance languages – and, presumably, among other Romance varieties not considered in this study – are rooted in the licensing conditions governing the location of the ES in the three-dimensional space presented in § 2.3.

The instructions encoded for each language are as follows:

Catalan: FUT_{Cat}= (IS ⊂ DS) & (ES ⊄ IS) & (DS > ES)
Spanish: FUT_{Sp} = (IS ⊂ DS) & (ES ⊄ IS) & [(DS,ES) ∨ (DS > ES)]
Portuguese: FUT_{Port} = (IS ⊂ DS) & (ES ⊄ IS)

The uses deriving from this system are summarised in Table 2.

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Table 2   Dimensions and uses of the future tense in Ibero-Romance languages

			Catalan	Spanish Galician	Portuguese
Dimensions	T (Temporal)	Future events	+	+	+
	S (Perceptual space)	Conjectures (+concessive uses)	-	+	+
		Reportative uses	-	-	+
	W (Modal)	Possibilities	-	-	+
		Deductions	-	-	+

The system presented here does not aim to account for all the aspects of the various readings of future-tensed sentences. As already mentioned, the semantics of the future is underspecified and many other factors also contribute to the final interpretation. Among these factors is the existence of other competing forms (such as the simple present and the *go*-future) that express meanings closely related to those of the future tense, and the preferences in their distribution certainly impact their attested uses. Neither in Spanish nor in Portuguese is the future the preferred form to convey futurity (indeed, in some Spanish-American varieties, the simple future has almost disappeared with this interpretation). However, this should not obscure the fact that temporal readings are still a possible option for the system. If this option were to disappear entirely, a new system would emerge – one forbidding the location of the represented eventuality ahead in the timeline.

For Portuguese, additional constraints seem to be in force, relative to the kind of knowledge or evidence that can be used in inferential processes. Portuguese also allows placing propositional content in others' space, not only worldly facts. These differences surely deserve more detailed consideration but are out of the aims of this paper.

One of the advantages of this model is that it postulates a single mechanism for the three families of readings. Starting from the present, the interpretation 'moves' in one of the possible directions (depending on the language) to locate a non-accessible eventuality. Thus, intentions and predictions 'move' along the timeline, conjectures 'move' to a parallel space in the real world, and possibilities 'move' to an alternative world. Both conjectures and possibilities target eventualities aligned with the temporal point in the speaker's real world: conjectures invoke present, though unobserved, eventualities, while modal readings express present, imagined alternatives.

The most important advantage of the framework presented in this paper is, I think, that it offers a simpler and more uniform explanation for the patterns in the use of the simple future in Ibero-Romance languages. It reveals how each language can impose unique

constraints on the properties of represented eventualities within a common structure. By limiting possible variation to a restricted set of micro-parameters, this proposal simplifies the understanding of linguistic differences and allows clear predictions about a central set of questions: how, why and to what extent languages can differ.

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Complementizer Deletion in Spanish
Revisiting the Empirical Evidence

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Abstract Complementizer Deletion (CD) in Spanish is allowed with an emotional se-lecting verb and an irrealis embedded verb. No XPs can occupy the preverbal embed-ded position. The traditional accounts divided into two opposite strands: one argues that *que*-less clauses are IP structures, the other defends the presence of a C-layer and assumes that CD constitutes the alternative checker of the overt complementizer, thus requiring the verb movement to C° to check the relevant features. This article builds on the assumption that the CP is projected when the complementizer is omitted but proposes that no verb movement takes place. Empirical evidence based on the order of the embedded verb, subjects and adverbs will be provided to show that the inflected verb remains in a low position. The data, which are taken from two corpora of Spanish language, will also testify a wider production of CD beyond verbs of emotion. The analy-sis is framed within the Cartographic Approach.

Keywords Complementizer deletion. Complementizer phrase. Verb movement. Eu-ropean Spanish. Empty CP.

Summary 1 Introduction. – 2 Complementizer Deletion in Spanish. – 2.1 Is There a CP? Two Proposals at Stake. – 2.2 Consequences of the IP-hypothesis. – 2.3 Consequences of Movement to a Syncretic Category. – 3 The Data. – 3.1 The Methodology. – 3.2 Descriptive Analysis. – 4 Revisiting the Analyses. – 5 Conclusions.

1 Introduction

European[1] Spanish admits declarative Complementizer Deletion (henceforth CD) in clauses selected by certain classes of verbs. The optional omission of *que* 'that' is typically found with verbs such as *preocuparse* 'to worry' and *lamentar* 'to lament' (Torrego 1983).

(1) *Lamento   (que) no est-és   contenta con   tu   trabajo.*
     lament.1SG that not be-SBJV.2SG happy   with   your   job
     'I lament that you are not happy with your job.'

Although an overall agreement on the derivation of CD is missing, as much for Spanish *que* drop as for the other languages licensing this phenomenon (i.e., Italian, English, etc.), the literature converges on the idea that the possibility of C-drop is determined by the class of the main predicate and the mood of the embedded verb, which must bear [+irrealis] features. The omission of *que* is allowed, in fact, in clauses inflected for subjunctive, conditional or future indicative (Brovetto 2002).

This phenomenon has led many scholars to discuss on the existence of a left periphery layer. For instance, Brovetto (2002) proposes that *que*-less clauses are IP structures showing no C-domain, whereas Antonelli (2013) defends the hypothesis that these structures do manifest a CP, though different from the sentences where the complementizer is overtly realized. Accordingly, the relevant feature is checked by the movement of the embedded verb from the IP to a syncretic C° position. The structures of both proposals are reported below in (3a) and (3b) respectively.

(2) [$_{IP}$ Lamento   [$_{CP}$ que   [$_{IP}$ no estés contenta]]]
(3) a. [$_{IP}$ Lamento   [$_{IP}$ no estés contenta]]
     b. [$_{IP}$ Lamento   [$_{CP}$ no estés contenta]]

From these accounts, two main questions arise. The first is how the IP-account explains the licensing of the subjunctive mood in the embedded clause, a necessary requirement in order to check the [+irrealis] feature. The second is whether it is correct to assume that the embedded verb moves to the CP. Therefore, the present analysis aims to discuss the theoretical and empirical implications of the previous analysis relying on a study of authentic data sample of Spanish

complementizerless clauses. It will be shown that it is not the case that the embedded verb moves to a syncretic C° position, as argued by Antonelli (2013), since the data will suggest that it remains in a low position, most likely within the I-domain. Even so, assuming the existence of an empty CP in *que*-less clauses is needed in order to explain a series of empirical facts.

This article is structured as follows: § 2 provides an overview of the theoretical background of Spanish complementizer deletion and reviews the major arguments for CD analyses; § 3 offers a new and extensive sample of authentic data which will enrich the theoretical scenario; § 4 discusses the existing proposals in light of the new data and advances an alternative analysis on the derivation of *que*-less clauses; § 5 draws the conclusions.

2 Complementizer Deletion in Spanish

2.1 Is There a CP? Two Proposals at Stake

The possibility of dropping the *que* in Spanish has been discussed in the last four decades. Within the pre-minimalist framework, Torrego (1983; 1984) first introduced this topic and aligned the dropping of *que* to successive cyclicity and the theory of bounding nodes. Afterwards she was followed by Brovetto (2002) who, along the lines of Stowell (1981) and Scorretti (1981), endorsed the view that CD phenomenon is the result of the selection of an IP structure, rather than a CP. Ten years later, the analyses of Spanish CD within the generative framework moved towards Poletto's (1995) proposal for Italian CD. The main contribution of this line is the one put forward by Antonelli (2013), who tries to identify which factors affect the omission of *que* in order to predict the alternation *que*/∅. The present work considers those contributions that, in order to explain the internal structure of Spanish *que*-less clauses and its derivation, assume the split periphery developed in Rizzi (1997), where the C-layer is decomposed into four different projections:

(4) [ForceP [TopP* [FocP [TopP* [FinP]]]]]

The starting point of the previous proposals is the observation that CD is available in Spanish when three conditions are satisfied: (i) the embedded complement must occupy its basic complement position, meaning that it cannot be left dislocated, (ii) the embedded verb must be a subjunctive, future indicative or conditional, and (iii) the selecting predicate must belong to a specific class, i.e. verbs of the class of *lamentar* 'to lament' and *preocuparse* 'to worry' (Brovetto 2002; Antonelli 2013).

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(5) *Nos preocupa   (que) hay-as   estado malo.*
     cl   worry.3SG   that   have-SBJV.2SG   been   sick
     'We worry about your being sick.' (Antonelli 2013)

The embedded clause in (5) occupies its basic complement position
to the right of its selecting predicate, and it contains a verb inflect-
ed for the subjunctive mood. The main verb is clearly one of those
predicates compatible with *que* dropping, though, on this point, the
existing literature on Spanish CD is not entirely clear with respect
to which verbal classes can drop it. The examples taken into consid-
eration by the previous contributions mainly consider complemen-
tizerless clauses selected by three predicates: *lamentar* 'to lament',
preocuparse 'to worry' and *esperar* 'to hope'. However, the point the
authors want to make is that there seems to be a correlation between
the possibility for a main predicate to drop the complementizer and
the property of such predicate to select a [+irrealis] feature.

The main question the previous studies have tried to answer is
whether *que*-less clauses manifest a CP layer (i.e. the CP-hypoth-
eses; Antonelli 2013) or not (i.e. the IP-hypothesis; Brovetto 2002).

Brovetto (2002) observed that CD is incompatible with topicaliza-
tion and left-peripheral movements involving the embedded CP. In
fact, if any XP belonging to the C-layer is selected in a specific deri-
vation, the C-field is activated as a whole, and *que* becomes mandato-
ry, as shown in (6a) below. In contrast, the complementizer is option-
ally omitted if the topicalized element is hosted in the left periphery
of the main clause, as in (6b).[2]

(6) a. Lamento   *(que), con   tu   trabajo, no   est-és   contenta.
         lament.1SG   that   with   your   job   not be-SBVJ.3SG   happy
         'I lament that you are not happy with your job.'

     b. Con   tu   trabajo, lamento   (que) no   est-és   contenta.
         with   your   job   lament.1SG   that   not be-SBVJ.3SG   happy
         'With your job, I lament that you are not happy.'

In (6a), the relative position of *que* is assumed to be in the highest pro-
jection ForceP, and the fronted XP lands in the specifier position of the

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2 The same restriction holds for wh-extraction. If a wh-phrase moves to the embed-
ded C-field, the complementizer *que* is obligatory, but it may be optionally omitted, if
the wh-constituent is extracted from the embedded clause and lands in the C-field of
the main clause. I claim, however, that the ungrammaticality raised by this contrast is
not a consequence of complementizer deletion. With the overt *que*, the sentence would
still be ungrammatical because *lamentar* 'to lament' class of verbs do not select a ques-
tion, like *verba dicendi* do.

TopP below ForceP. According to Brovetto (2002), the obligatory realization of the complementizer is explained by assuming that the topicalization of a phrase of the lower clause to the embedded CP activates the C-field of the complement clause, and the CP as a whole is projected as a consequence. Therefore, Brovetto (2002) claims that the absence of the overt *que* is due to the absence of the complementizer phrase in the derivation. Under this view, there is no TopP available, which explains why *que*-less clauses are incompatible with topicalized XPs.

Antonelli (2013) disagreed with Brovetto (2002) on the lack of the C-layer in these structures. Antonelli (2013) entertained the position that the main verb selects a [+irrealis] feature, but he argues that this feature can be realized either by *que* or by the embedded predicate in the lowest CP projection Fin°. Moreover, according to Antonelli (2013), the main verb always selects a second feature [+declarative] that also can be realized either by *que* or by the embedded predicate in Force° projection. Therefore, the embedded predicate would be an instance of alternative checker (Zanuttini 1997; Obenauer 2001) of the missing complementizer, being capable of checking for the two relevant features. To be able to do that, the derivation of CD requires a syncretic projection Force/Fin which can host the embedded verb and value the features associated to Force° and Fin°, as represented in (7) below. Antonelli (2013) confirms this hypothesis by pointing out the fact that in some languages like Spanish itself, multiple declarative complementizers can co-occur, upholding the view first advocated by Rizzi (1997) and then by Shlonsky (2006), that Force and Fin projections split only if necessary. In other words, the split between ForceP and FinP takes place only if other discursive projections, like TopicP and FocusP, are activated, otherwise they constitute a syncretic projection.

(7)   ForceP/FinP

        V-Force/Fin°   IP

This proposal accounts for the ungrammaticality of fronted phrases in embedded clauses lacking *que*, though from the opposite perspective with respect to Brovetto's (2002). In fact, the ungrammaticality of fronted XPs in complementizerless clauses follows not because these structures do not manifest a C-layer, but rather because, if ForceP and FinP are syncretically projected, there is no room for the activation of the other left-periphery projections.

In the remainder of this section, a discussion of the consequences of Brovetto's (2002) IP-hypothesis and Antonelli's (2013) CP-hypothesis will be reported.

2.2   Consequences of the IP-hypothesis

For Brovetto (2002), the activation of the C-layer, which includes the head where *que* is merged, is determined by derivational processes involving the fronted projections. This claim leads to the wrong conclusion that complement clauses not hosting a topic phrase in their CP will not manifest the overt complementizer *que*. Indeed, the realization of *que* occurs regardless of the activation of fronted XPs.

(8) *Lamento*   ***que***   *no*   *est-és*   *contenta*   *con*   *tu*   *trabajo.*
 lament.1SG   that   not   be-SBJV.2SG   happy   with   your   job
 'I lament that you are not happy with your job.'

Another problem that this hypothesis faces is related to the unavailability of the preverbal subject. An IP-structure, in fact, should not prevent a subject from appearing preverbally, being it its argument position.[3] Brovetto's (2002) explanation for the subject restriction rests on two different assumptions. The first is that, if the C-layer is not projected, the preverbal embedded subject would inadequately receive accusative case from the main predicate, being the specifier of the IP adjacent to its position. Therefore, the subject must remain in post-verbal position to avoid this configuration, which would lead to an agrammatical result. This configuration is reminiscent of that of Exceptional Case-Marking structures, but with a finite clause involved. In ECM constructions, the embedded subject of an infinitival verb appears in the superordinate clause and receives accusative case. According to Brovetto (2002), if the CP cannot avoid the ECM configuration because it is missing, then the subject may remain in post-verbal position and receive case *in situ*. Nevertheless, I claim that this is not the reason for the ungrammaticality of preverbal subjects in *que*-less complements. Indeed, Spanish is a Differential Object Marking language and, according to Brugè and Brugger (1996), [+animate] referential nominal expressions which receive accusative case require the accusative marker *a*, as (9) below. Therefore, if we substitute the impersonal subject in (10a) with a [+animate] subject, we expect the accusative case marker to obligatorily precede the embedded subject. However, the presence of DOM before the constituent [Ygritte] in (10b) gives a strong ungrammatical result which, compared to (10c), makes the latter the best option.

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3   The IP-hypothesis has been firstly proposed for English CD (see Stowell 1981, among others). This hypothesis is motivated by the fact that embedded subject appears in preverbal position in *that*-less clauses, following the configuration typical of IP-structures.

(9) *Ygritte besó   a   Jon.*
     Ygritte   kissed DOM Jon
     'Ygritte kissed John.'

(10) a. *Espero   ∅   se solucionen   pronto los problemas.*
         hope.1SG   cl solve-SBVJ.3SG   soon   the problems
         'I hope that the problems will be solved soon.'

     b. **Espero   ∅   a   Ygritte solucion-e   pronto   los problemas.*
         hope.1SG   DOM Ygritte solve-SBVJ.3SG soon   the problems
     c. *?Espero   ∅   Ygritte solucion-e   pronto   los problemas.*
         hope.1SG   Ygritte solve-SBVJ.3SG soon   the problems
         'I hope that Ygritte will solve the problems soon.'

Therefore, if we consider a *que*-less clause with a [+human] subject we will immediately see that the embedded subject cannot receive accusative case, since this gives rise to a strong ungrammaticality. The most acceptable option remains (10c), where the embedded [+human] subject is not preceded by the accusative marker.

The second explanation given by Brovetto (2002) for the impossibility of a preverbal subject assumes that preverbal subjects in Spanish bear a topic feature. Some scholars have argued that those subjects occupy the specifier position of a syncretic category Tense/Topic (Zubizarreta 1998), though an overall agreement on this issue has not been achieved.

Finally, the IP-hypothesis assumes that CD is possible only if the *que*-less clause occupies its complement position. If we are dealing with an IP-construction, the dependency relation between the *que*-less clause and the main clause is unexpected. Even more unexpected is the inflection for subjunctive mood of the embedded verb. On the contrary, the adjacency condition suggests that the complementizer can be optionally deleted only if it is properly governed by a head, and the presence of the subjunctive can be explained only by assuming that the main predicate triggers it.

To sum up, Brovetto (2002) analyzes complementizerless clauses as IP-structures lacking their embedded CP, which explains why derivational processes involving discourse projections are ruled out. This analysis, however, wrongly predicts that *que* should always be absent when fronted material is not derived, making complementizer deletion a mandatory phenomenon. Ultimately, the IP-hypothesis does not account for the dependency relation requirement between the *que*-less clause and the main clause.

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2.3 Consequences of Movement to a Syncretic Category

Antonelli (2013) claimed that it is not the case that there is exclusively one position that can host the complementizer in clauses with an overt *que*, but both heads Force° and Fin° are always projected: Force° is filled by the complementizer *que*, where it is directly merged in order to value the clausal type feature, and Fin° hosts a lower homophonous complementizer, overt or not, to value the irrealis feature. The split between these two functional heads allows the activation of the intermediate projections, like TopP and FocP.

As previously mentioned, complement clauses lacking *que* have no room for the intermediate projections. This would happen because, according to Antonelli (2013), a syncretic projection Force/Fin blocks the activation of the left-peripheral projections normally intervening between them. The hypothesis defended by Antonelli (2013) is that *que*-less clauses take a syncretic C-layer from the Numeration, a necessary option for the embedded predicate to move to the embedded left periphery and value the sentential feature associated to Force° and the irrealis feature associated to Fin°. This proposal aims to be in line with the principle of economy known as Minimal Structure Principle (Bošković 1997; Chomsky 1995; 2001), which assumes that language operates under the principle of linguistic economy: it does not undergo unnecessary operations, but it favors the syntactic choice that has less structural material.

Accordingly, it follows that, if the derivation of *que*-less clauses serves the same function of complement clauses with overt *que*, and only the former satisfies the optimality condition, thus the MSP should prefer complementizerless clauses to complements with *que* whenever no fronted material needs to be derived. It is not the case, however, since CD is an optional phenomenon, and the absence of the intermediate peripheral projections does not rule out the merger of *que*. A good solution to this puzzle is to claim that the minimal pair in question does not share the same Numeration, a solution that Antonelli sketches in his analysis. In fact, as Chomsky (2001) suggests, the problem of optionality is sorted out by assuming that the two constructions start from a different Numeration, hence they cannot compete in optimal terms. Therefore, if we assume that all object complement clauses are CPs, then we need to assume a null C in our lexicon as the alternative to phonologically overt C. In Antonelli's analysis (2013), the null C is derived in syntax as a single syncretic projection. This hypothesis accounts for a wider number of facts.

The following section presents new empirical evidence of *que*-less clauses and discusses them in the light of the existing theories. The starting expectations are that CD is characterized by a selecting predicate belonging to the class of *lamentar* 'to lament', and by an irrealis embedded verb, and no XPs are expected in preverbal embedded position.

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3 The Data

3.1 The Methodology

In what follows, I will provide additional evidence on Spanish complementizer deletion which shows the possible influence of some additional variables on the outcome. In particular, I will show that, although *que*-dropping is favored by the proximity of the predicates, preverbal elements, such as subjects and adverbs, do not rule out the omission of *que*. With respect to the variable mood of the embedded verb, the absence of *que* is attested in complements inflected for the subjunctive mood, as well as in complements inflected for (present) indicative. Moreover, and perhaps the most surprising finding, the embedding of the main predicate into a subordinate clause introduced by *que* significantly favors the possibility for complementizer deletion to occur.

The data source of this study are two corpora of present-day Spanish: CREA (*Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*) and CORPES XXI (*Corpus del Español del Siglo XX*). Both corpora constitute the most representative database of Spanish language, since they contain a wide variety of written and oral documents produced in all Spanish-speaking countries between 1975 and 2000 (CREA), and from 2001 to the present-day (CORPES XXI). The data that were gathered contain 18 complement-taking predicates, part of them is based on the existing proposals (Brovetto 2002; Antonelli 2013), i.e. verbs of emotion and desire, others are a novelty of this study, which aims at exploring the productivity of complementizer deletion with other verbal classes, i.e. belief predicates and volitives. The extraction of the tokens was realized by searching for all occurrences of the main predicate inflected for present indicative. The result was then manually filtered to eliminate false positives. The sample was reduced to a variable context: main verb + *que*/∅ + finite complement clause. This resulted in n=179,439 tokens, 0,8% of which are without the complementizer *que* (n=1,517). The data considered in the present study represent 4 semantic classes, as illustrated in Table 1 **[tab. 1]**.

Table 1 Overview of the semantic classes of complement-taking predicates in the dataset

Semantic class	Verbs	N. of tokens (total)	N. of tokens without que	Percentage of CD per class
Belief	*Creer*, …	144,578	832	0.6%
Desire	*Desear*, …	10,081	406	4%
Emotion	*Lamentar*, …	4,053	32	0.7%
Volition	*Rogar*, …	20,727	247	1,2%

The tokens that have been gathered belong to different settings or environments, i.e. novels, press reports, essays, oral interviews, transcriptions of radio or television newscasts, juridical and diplomatic

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transcriptions. It suggests that CD can be found in oral language, though it is perceived as pretentious speech by native speakers, who take this construction to be a feature of formal or literary written speech.

3.2   Descriptive Analysis

The data gathered show the influence of a wider range of different language-internal constraints on the omission of *que* in Spanish in comparison with those highlighted by previous contributions.

Indeed, the optional omission of *que* is primarily affected by the class of the main predicate, although with a wider range of classes. It is attested, in fact, not exclusively with verbs of desire and emotion, as reported in (11a) and (11b), but also with verbs of volition (*querer* 'want', *mandar* 'order') and belief predicates (i.e., *creer* 'believe', *pensar* 'think'), as illustrated in (11c) and (11d) respectively. In contrast, it is ungrammatical with verbs of communication and manner of speaking (i.e., *declarar* 'declare', *susurrar* 'whisper'). This first evidence suggests that the mood of the complement verb may be the subjunctive as well as the indicative, since belief predicates select for the indicative mood in Spanish when their polarity is positive.

(11)   a.   […] *ha*   *sido*   *una*   *grata*   *experiencia* *que*
has   been   a   grateful   experience   that
deseo ∅   *sea*   *el*   *colofón*   *de*   *esta*
wish.1SG   be-SBJV.3SG   the   climax   of   this
segunda   *parte*   *de una*   *saga*   […]
second   part   of a   saga
'[…] it has been a pleasant experience that I wish it is the climax of this second part of a saga […]' (CREA, España. 2001, Actualidad, ocio y vida cotidiana)

   b.   *Lamento* ∅   *siga*   *usando* *esos*   *insultos* *para*
lament.1SG   keep-SBJV.3SG   using   these   insults   to
definir   *personas*   *que*   *no*   *conoce,*   *[…]*
define   people   that   not   knows
'I lament s/he keeps using those insults to define people s/he does not know […]' (CORPES, España. 2015, Salud)

   c.   […] *una*   *neuritis*   *óptica*   *por*   *lo*   *que*   *le*
a   neurits   optic   for   the   that   cl
ruego ∅   *me*   *de*   *la*   *máxima*   *información* […]
beg.1SG   cl   give- SBJV.3SG   the   maximum   information
'[…] an optic neuritis of which I beg you to give me the maximum information […]' (CORPES, España. 2005, Radio)

d. | […]*unas* | *cuantas* | *piezas,* | *que* | *supones* | *serán* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | few | parts | that | suppose.2SG | will-be.3PL |
| *el* | *cargador,* | *el* | *ratillo* | *[…]* | |
| the | charger | the | mouse | | |

'[…] a few parts, which you suppose will be the charger, the mouse […]'
(CORPES, España. 2001, Novela)

Secondly, *que*-deletion is always attested when the embedded sentence appears in its basic complement position, and never when the sentence is fronted. Within this configuration, the omission of *que* is indeed favored by the proximity of the main and the embedded predicates, though preverbal subjects and adverbs are not ruled out.

(12) | […] *algo* | *que* | *me* | *produce* | *verdadera* | *ilusión* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| something | that | cl | produces | true | illusion |
| *y* | *que* | *espero* | Ø | ***los*** | ***lectores*** |
| and | that | hope.1SG | | the | readers |
| *disfrut-en* | *tanto* | *como* | *yo* | *he* | *disfrutado* […] |
| enjoy-SBJV.3PL | as | much as | I | have | enjoyed |

'[…] it gives me true satisfaction and that I hope that readers will enjoy as much as I have enjoyed […]' (CORPES, España. 2008, Actualidad, ocio y vida cotidiana)

(13) | *Ese* | *día,* | *que* | *espero* | Ø | ***pronto*** | *ve-amos,* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| this | day | that | hope.1SG | | soon | see-SBJV.1PL |
| *la* | *ciencia* | *habrá* | *encontrado* | *su* | *camino.* | |
| the | science | will-have | found | its | path | |

'This day, that I hope we will soon see, science will have found its path.'
(CORPES, España. 2011, Ciencias y tecnología)

Adverbs and subjects occupying the preverbal embedded position in complements without *que* are attested with two verbal classes: verbs of desire and belief. In contrast, complementizerless clauses of volitional verbs present the interpolation of lexical material belonging to the main clause, typically the dative argument of the main verb, see (14). Only a 2% of the 1,517 occurrences of *que*-less clauses is found with verbs of emotion, and none of them presents intervening lexical material between the two predicates. This is a surprising result given the fact that the literature has spent most of its attention on this specific verb class.

(14) | *Ruego* | *a* | *la* | *policía* | *y* | *su* | *concejal* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| beg.1SG | to | the | police | and | its | city councilor |
| Ø *vigil-e* | *las* | *calles* | *peatonales* | *invadidas* | *de* | *coches* […] |
| oversee-SBJV.3SG | the | streets | pedestrian | invaded | of | cars |

'I ask the police and their councilor to monitor the pedestrian streets invaded by cars […]' (CORPES, España. 2001, Actualidad, ocio y vida cotidiana)

A third important observation is that the omission of *que* is attested also when the main verb is subordinated in another clause, (see (15)), especially, but not exclusively, with verbs of desire and belief.[4] It has been suggested that complementizer deletion in current-day Spanish may occur with indicative complements only when the main predicate is embedded in a relative clause (RAE & ASALE 2009; Herrero Ruiz de Loizaga 2014).[5] Nevertheless, *que*-dropping is still possible even with non-subordinated main predicates, as shown in (16). Although quite rare, these examples must be taken into account.[6]

(15) | *Una* | *paradoja* | **que** | *creo* | Ø | *le* | *sirve* |
a	paradox	that	believe.1SG		cl	serves
a	*Sicilia*	*como*	*metáfora*	[...]		
to	Sicily	as	metaphor			

'A paradox that I believe serves Sicily as a metaphor [...]'
(CORPES, España. 2017, Artes, cultura y espectáculos)

(16) | *Yo* | *creo* | Ø | *ya* | | *es* | *hora* |
I	think.1SG		already		is	time
de	*que*	*se*	*hub-iesen*		*olvidado.*	
of	that	cl	have-SBVJ.PAST.3PL		forgotten	

'I think it is time that they had forgotten.'
(CORPES, España. 2001, Política, economía y justicia)

Examples of *que*-less clauses preceded by a belief predicate with a negative polarity are also attested. In these cases, the embedded verb is inflected for subjunctive, as expected in Spanish (see (17)). If we follow the starting hypothesis that *que*-dropping correlates with the presence of an irrealis embedded verb, we expect this factor also interacts with mood alternations, thus the omission is possible

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4 This configuration is mentioned in the grammar RAE & ASALE (2009) as the only possibility for *que*-deletion to occur with belief predicates in European Spanish. In contrast, Mexican varieties seem to allow *que*-dropping when the belief verb is not subordinated (RAE & ASALE 2009, § 43.3i). A comparative analysis between the two varieties of Spanish is the aim for future research.

5 According to Pountain (2015), since the relative *que* and the complementizer *que* are homophonous, the omission of the second *que* is due to a stylistic criterion known as euphony, which aims at avoiding repetitions. According to the data gathered though, CD is also attested in relative clauses introduced by relative pronouns other than *que*, as for instance *donde, cuyo* and *quien*. Being this the case, Poutain's (2015) view does not hold. I thank one of the reviewers for making this helpful observation.

6 From the data I have gathered, the omission of *que* is attested when the main verb is subordinated in a relative clause. I have no evidence of CD in other subordinated contexts. A question that naturally arises is why CD is only allowed within relative clauses. This observation should be further corroborated in future research before providing a more specific theoretical explanation.

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(or at least more productive) when the belief predicate comes with a negative polarity. Nevertheless, the distribution of CD is not higher when the embedded clause is inflected for subjunctive than when it is in the present indicative, suggesting that the subjunctive mood is not a strong predictor of the omission of *que*.

(17) | [...] *estos* | *arriesgados* | *navegantes* | *con* | | *naves* | *que* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| these | daring | sailors | with | | ships | that |
| *no* | *creo* | ∅ | *pod-amos* | | *imaginar* | *cuanta* |
| not | believe.1SG | | can-SBJV.1PL | imagine | how much |
| *audacia* | *era* | *necesaria.* | | | | |
| audacity | was | needed | | | | |

'[…] these daring sailors with ships that I don't think we can imagine how much boldness was needed.' (CORPES, España. 2003, Ciencias y tecnología)

These examples constitute indirect evidence of the dependency relation between the main verb and the embedded clause. Therefore, assuming the IP-hypothesis, and thus considering *que*-less structures as IP-structures, would mean leaving unexplained the possibility for the main predicate to select a subjunctive mood in its embedded clause. The detailed discussion of the existing proposals is issued in the following section.

Before leaving this section, one last point must be highlighted. The configuration we have just seen, where the main predicate is embedded into a subordinate clause introduced by *que*, does not make *que*-dropping mandatory, since the same configuration is also attested with standard complementation with overt *que*.

(18) | [...] *en* | *lengua* | *extraña*, | **que** *creo* | | **que** | *tiene* | *que* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in | language | stranger | that believe.1SG | that | have.3SG | that |
| *ver* | *con* | *esa* | *dichosa* | *sensación de* | | *embarazo*, | *que* [...] |
| see | with | that | joyful | sensation of | | pregnancy, | that |

'[…] in a foreign language that I think it has to do with this blissful sensation of pregnancy, which […]' (CORPES, España. 2001, Novela)

This evidence further proves that the main predicate is a selecting predicate instantiating a dependency relation with its complement clause. Under this new light, the IP-hypothesis becomes difficult to defend.

4 Revisiting the Analyses

Brovetto (2002) and Antonelli (2013), by means of some supposedly ungrammatical examples, claim that if *que* is absent, no overt lexical or pronominal subject may appear preverbally. Nevertheless, the corpora consulted reveal examples that contradict their statement, since overt and rather complex DPs subjects intervene between the main and the embedded predicate, like (12) above. In addition, adverbs are also found in preverbal embedded position, as in (13) above. Indeed, these examples are rare, but they must be considered into an analysis of Spanish CD, because otherwise part of the variation would remain unexplained.

At first sight, this new evidence seems to solve the main problem raised by the IP-hypothesis, since the unavailability of the preverbal subject needs not to be explained anymore: the embedded subject appears in preverbal position, following the configuration typical of IP-structures. On the other hand, however, the dependency relation requirement between the *que*-less clause and the main clause, and the licensing of the subjunctive mood, remain unexpected.

As for the CP-hypothesis, it assumes that verb movement to C° in *que*-less clauses would always assure a position structurally higher than any other element, thus the prediction is that the embedded verb cannot be preceded by any lexical material from the embedded clause.[7] Since the new data falsify this hypothesis, two main pathways remain open: either we assume that the CP is not constituted by a single head, but it maintains at least the lowest projections, or we assume that the syncretic Force/Fin° position remains empty. To verify which of the two hypotheses is the correct, we should investigate whether the preverbal elements are in a dislocated position, i.e. TopP or FocP. If they are, the first hypothesis would be confirmed, then it would remain to explain whether the verb moves to Fin° or not.

The first evidence that undermines the hypothesis of verb movement to a C° position are the occurrences of preverbal quantifiers as subjects, see (19). In fact, quantifier subjects cannot undergo topicalization (cf. Rizzi 1997). Moreover, according to Zubizzarreta (1998, 103), bare negative quantifiers, i.e. *nadie* 'nobody', may be interpreted as negating or reasserting part of the hearer's presupposition but, unlike contrastive focused phrases, they do not introduce a variable with an associated value. In other words, they cannot be focalized either. It ultimately suggests that these subjects are located within

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7 Except for clitic elements and standard negation, a possibility that Antonelli (2013) leaves unexplained.

the I-domain, a possibility that goes against the hypothesis of verb movement, since it predicts the reverse word order.[8]

(19) | *Además,* | *Carreño* | *se* | *toma* | *una* | *licencia* | *más* | *que* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| in addition | Carreño | cl | takes | a | license | more | that |
| *creo* | Ø | *nadie* | *ha* | *señalado* | *todavía* | *[…]* | |
| think.1SG | | nobody | has | noted | yet | | |

'Also, Carreño takes another license that I think nobody has pointed out yet.'
(CORPES, España. 2006. Artes, cultura y espectáculos)

The view that the embedded verb does not move to a left periphery position is also supported by the nature of the adverbs found in pre-verbal position, i.e. *siempre* 'always' and *pronto* 'soon'. These adverbs are labeled "lower pre-VP adverbs" (Cinque 1999), belonging to the Low Adverb Space (Ledgeway, Lombardi 2005), a syntactic space delimited to the left by presuppositional adverbial negators (cf. Italian *mica*) and to the right by arguments of the VP. The relative ordering of such adverbs with their associated functional heads is illustrated in (20). The adverb hierarchy is a reliable diagnostic for verb movement if the adverb is unstressed. The occurrences attesting preverbal *siempre* and *pronto* are read by native consultants with a flat, neutral intonation, and they do not have narrow scope over a single constituent, suggesting that they appear in their base FP, i.e., in $Asp_{perfect}$ and $Asp_{proximative}$, respectively. [9] Consequently, the embedded verb must be hosted in a position higher than the lowest VP but lower than IP. From a parametric and typological point of view, the assumption that the verb in languages like Spanish remains in a low position is not surprising, given that Spanish is classified as a very low-movement variety (Schifano 2018).

(20) [Neg1presuppositional [*already* T(Anterior) [*no longer* $Asp_{terminative}$
[*still* $Asp_{continuative}$ [*always* $Asp_{perfect}$ [Neg2 [*just* $Asp_{retrospective}$
[*soon* $Asp_{proximative}$ [*briefly* $Asp_{durative}$ [*characteristically* $Asp_{progressive}$
[*almost* $Asp_{prospective}$ [*completely* AspSgCompletive [*everything* $Asp_{PlCompletely}$
[*well* Voice [*fast/early* $Asp_{celerative(process)}$ [*again* $Asp_{repetitive(process)}$ [*often*
$Asp_{frequentative(process)}$ [*completely* $Asp_{SgCompletive(process)}$ [$_{v-VP}$...

---

8 The corpora consulted attest quantifier subjects exclusively with belief predicates. However, according to speakers and testimonies of daily language, they are accepted with volitive predicates too:
(i) *Ruego Ø alguien me ayude.*
beg.1SG someone cl help.SBJV.3SG
'I beg for someone to help me.'

9 If the adverb receives a marked intonation, the sentence is ungrammatical.

If preverbal embedded subjects cannot receive a focalized interpretation, it is reasonable to think that the lowest CP projections, as FocP, are not maintained either. Therefore, one last point remains to be explained, namely whether the CP is projected as a syncretic projection, or it is not projected at all. In this respect, the dependency condition and the selection for the subjunctive mood constitute indirect evidence for the former hypothesis, since they can be explained only under the assumption that a CP assures the embedded relation.

Hence, the hypothesis that best accounts for all the empirical data is assuming that the embedded verb does not leave the IP. At the same time, the CP is present but as an empty head which assures the dependency condition. The structure of the new proposal is reported here:

(21) $[_{IP}$ Lamento $[_{CP} \varnothing$ $[_{IP}$ no estés contenta]]]

As the dependency condition operates also in indicative contexts, it is reasonable to assume that indicative complements manifest the same structural configuration, namely an empty CP. From the theoretical point of view, it means assuming that a single syncretic C-projection is derived in syntax as the alternative to phonologically overt C° (as in Antonelli 2013). The extent to which the omission of *que* is optional and, eventually, which is the interpretative difference between the two syntactic structures, are left for further research.

5 Conclusions

This article revisited the existing proposals of CD in European Spanish and suggested a new hypothesis based on new empirical data. Contrary to the existing analysis, the data gathered showed that: (i) CD is productive with four semantic verbal classes, (ii) it is attested both in subjunctive and indicative complements, and (iii) preverbal embedded material, as adverbs and subjects, is found when *que* is absent.

In light of these data, it has been argued that although the presence of preverbal subjects favors Brovetto's (2002) IP-hypothesis, it still does not account for the dependency condition required in *que*-less clauses. At the same time, the presence of low adverbs and quantifiers as subjects in the preverbal embedded position undermines the hypothesis that the embedded verb moves towards the syncretic Force/Fin° head assumed by Antonelli (2013). Hence, it has been claimed that the hypothesis able to account for all the empirical data is assuming that the left peripheral domain is projected but, as no verb movement to C° takes place, it remains phonologically empty.

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Comparing Models on the Optionality of Complementizer Omission
A Quantitative Computational Study on German and Italo-Romance

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Abstract   Different studies in generative grammar have tried to explain the optionality with respect to the complementizer omission across languages and across structures. Specifically, the complementizer omission in declarative embedded contexts introduced by the so-called bridge verbs. In this paper, we test two models postulating different derivations and marking different predictions to the nature of the complementizer omission: one model stipulates the deletion of the complementizer (complementizer deletion), whereas the second model focuses on the verbal elements of the embedded clause (complementizer rise, when present). To reach our goal, we explore large-scale datasets (syntactically annotated treebanks of German, Italian and Old Florentine) and adopt simple computational models to compare and test the models under investigation. Our results suggest that the predictions of the complementizer deletion hypotheses are confirmed by German data, while those of the complementizer rise model are partially corroborated by Italian data. We consider this study as a blueprint for finer-grained research.

Keywords   Complementizer deletion. Bridge verbs. Italo-Romance. German. Quantitative computational syntax.

Summary   1 Introduction. – 2 Core Properties of the Linguistic Phenomenon and Models. – 3 Quantifying the Hypotheses. – 4 Materials & Methods. – 5 Results & Discussion. – 6 Conclusions.

1   Introduction

The lack of co-occurrence has always represented a perfect diagnostic for the understanding of which elements compete for the same syntactic position and therefore are in a complementary distribution. Competing for the very same position has also had important implications with respect to the building of fine-grained maps in syntactic cartography – for example, the fact that foci and wh- interrogative elements compete for the same position in the Left Periphery (Rizzi 1997; but see Rizzi, Bocci 2017).

A well-studied case is related to the lack of co-occurrence between the verb and the complementizer in verb second languages (V2; Holmberg 2015). Since verb second (V2) environments can be observed in those embedded contexts lacking an overt complementizer, Den Besten (1983) claimed that the verb moves to C in main clauses in West Germanic. We illustrate the phenomenon in (1), using bold for embedded verb and complementizers and underline for the main verb, whose nature plays a fundamental role in eliciting or not the complementizer:

(1) German (a, b, c from Samo 2019a, 26 ex. 43a, b, c; d from UD-HDT, hdt-s14414)
   a. *Giotto **malte** dieses Fresko*
      Giotto painted this fresco
      'Giotto painted this fresco'
   b. *Der Stadtführer <u>sagt</u>, **dass** Giotto dieses Fresko **malte***
      The city.guide says, that Giotto this fresco painted
      'The tourist guide says that Giotto painted this fresco'
   c. *Der Stadtführer <u>glaubt</u> Giotto **malte** dieses Fresko*
      the city.guide believes that Giotto painted this fresco
      'the tourist guide believes that Giotto painted this fresco'
   d. *Wir <u>glauben</u>, **dass**   es einige Punkte in der Vereinbarung **gibt**,*
      We believe   that   there some points in the agreement are
      die wir noch   weiter diskutieren   müssen
      that we still   yet   discuss   must
      'We believe that there are some points in the agreement that we still need to discuss'

The data in (1) show that the inflected verb cannot be located in the second position of the embedded clause introduced by verbs like *sagen* 'say': a complementizer, in this case *dass* 'that', is present (1b). However, when the embedded clause is introduced by a so-called bridge verb (see Poletto 2014) such as German *glauben* 'to think', the inflected verb can optionally reach the 'second slot' of the sentence (1c, 1d).

Once established that two elements compete for the same position, it is important to understand, from a formal point of view,

hierarchies of priorities of syntactic elements. Does the verb move there because there is no complementizer? Does the complementizer appear in (1b) and (1d) because the verb cannot move there? Are these two phenomena interconnected or totally independent? Is there a third way? Is there a pure optionality across phenomena and across languages? To answer these questions, we run a study in the spirit of Quantitative Computational Syntax (Merlo 2016; Samo, Merlo 2019; 2021s), by comparing models on the basis of linguistic data retrieved from large-scale datasets via a quantitative analysis and simple computational models.

Let us briefly introduce the models under investigation, which will be discussed in detail in section 2. A first model, which we label Complementizer Deletion (henceforth, CD) follows Den Besten's intuition (1983), which can be summarized as follows: the complementizer is absent ($\emptyset$), the verb moves to C, as in (2a). On the other hand, a second model, which we label Complementizer Rise (CR), would assume that the complementizer emerges since the verb cannot reach the activated functional projection (indicated by $0 \leftarrow X \leftarrow$ in 2b).[1] The two models are summarized in (2).

(2) a. CD

$\quad$ *if* $\quad [_C [_T [_V [_C \emptyset [_T \text{verb} [_{vP} \text{<verb>}]]]]]$

$\quad$ *then* $\quad [_C [_T [_V [_C \text{verb} [_T \text{<verb>}[_{vP} \text{<verb>}]]]]]$

$\quad$ b. CR

$\quad$ *if* $\quad [_C [_T [_V [_C \text{<}0\text{>} [_T \text{verb} [_{vP} \text{<verb>}]]]]]$

$\quad\quad\quad\quad \leftarrow X \leftarrow$

$\quad$ *then* $\quad [_C [_T [_V [_C \text{comp} [_T \text{verb} [_{vP} \text{<verb>}]]]]]$

These models can be compared to a third model in which the selection is fully random, representing a form of null hypothesis.

To reach our goals we proceed as follows. Section 2 presents the core properties of the linguistic phenomenon and core ingredients of the formal models under investigation. We then run our study: the hypotheses are introduced in section 3, materials and methods are presented in section 4, while section 5 discusses the results. Finally, section 6 concludes.

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[1] Theoretically, other models can be tested, such as those stipulating the presence/absence of the complementizer simply regulated by the relevant functional projection, as it has been proposed for, among others, Chinese (see Xu 1993 *inter alia*). We leave this and other comparisons to future works.

2 Core Properties of the Linguistic Phenomenon and Models

The question on whether the declarative complementizer is omittable has not only been at the center of the debate in Germanic languages studies (Holmberg 2015), but it has also extensively affected the research on (Italo-)Romance languages which largely bridges the theoretical assumptions developed for Germanic to the status of Romance complementizer drop (see Poletto 1995). This primarily concerns the nature and the relation between the selecting verb available in the root clause and the subsequent embedded verb. As a matter of fact, Vikner (1994), analyzing embedded verb movement in Germanic, elaborated a system of verbal classification in order to detect the main verbs that do not compulsorily need a complementizer and, consequently, are eligible to select V2 in the embedded clause.

Hence, they allow for verb movement from the inflectional domain to the complementizer phrase. Along these lines, *bridge* verbs stand for the root predicate triggering V2 (3a), whereas *non-bridge* verbs are the ones which do not allow for V2 (3b):

(3) German (Vikner 1994, 132 ex. 39b, 40b)
    a. *Watson behauptete*, *dieses   Geld   hatte Moriarty gestohlen*
       Watson claimed this   money had   Moriarty stolen
       'Watson said (that) this money had Moriarty stolen'
    b. **Holmes bewies*, *dieses Geld   hatte Moriarty gestohlen*
       Holmes proved this   money had   Moriarty stolen
       'Holmes proved (that) this money had Moriarty stolen'

In this regard, Poletto (1995) identified a parallel between Germanic languages and standard Italian observing that the verbs which select V2 in Germanic embedded clauses, likewise license complementizer drop in Italian, hence reaching the conclusion that complementizer deletion must involve verb movement to the complementizer phrase on a par with V2 in Germanic.

When the complementizer is absent, the following properties are at work: (a) the main verb needs to belong to the bridge verb class, (b) the embedded verb must be inflected for irrealis morphology, (c) the subordinate clause cannot be left-dislocated (see Poletto 1995):

(4) *Credo (che) sia già partito*
    believe (that) be.pst.sbjv.3sg already left
    'I believe (that) he has already left'

Following Vikner's (1994) assumptions, Poletto (1995) predicted that, in the absence of the declarative complementizer *che* 'that', the embedded verb undergoes a head-movement towards the left-periphery

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functioning as an alternative checker of the omitted complementizer. In featural terms, the raised verb is able to check the same bundle of functional features that the complementizer would do, which, in turn, can be felicitously dropped. Structurally speaking, Poletto (1995) hypothesized that the embedded verb in complementizer deletion structures targets a low C-projection, specifically Fin°.[2]

A further pioneering study within the field of complementizer deletion in standard Italian dates back to Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) who agreed with Poletto (1995) in terms of verb movement to CP in this context, but ruled out any associations with the Germanic languages' system of V-to-C movement.[3]

Therefore, most literature tradition on complementizer deletion in standard Italian is composed of remarkable contributions aimed to define empirical patterns that can predict the distribution of the declarative complementizer and factors that may affect its omission.

It is also noteworthy the case of the lack of the declarative complementizer in Florentine, which reveals a series of similarities with standard Italian, but, as extensively reported by Cocchi and Poletto (2002; 2007), a more flexible portrait can be depicted. Cocchi and Poletto (2002) observed that not only does Florentine license complementizer deletion under the same structural conditions of Italian, but it also features complementizer deletion when a different combination of main and embedded verbs are available. To put it differently, the lack of complementizer in Florentine occurs regardless of the bridge or non-bridge status of the selecting verb and of the irrealis or realis nature of the embedded verb, provided that a clitic-like element intervenes between the main and the subordinate predicate. Therefore, the strict condition affecting the complementizer omission is not the nature of the verbs under analysis, but the availability of a clitic-like item, such as a pronominal clitic, a preverbal negator or an auxiliary, in an intermediate position (see Cocchi, Poletto 2002; 2007):

(5) Florentine (Cocchi, Poletto 2002, 3 ex. 9)
   Gli dispiace la un venga a casa
   he is sorry she-subj.cl not comes at home
   'He is sorry she doesn't come home'

---

2   Poletto's (1995) assumption on the position of the declarative complementizer in standard Italian is in line with a series of studies (Ledgeway 2005; Paoli 2007; Colasanti 2018 *inter alia*) which do not provide a fixed location for this item, but promote a more flexible view according to which the complementizer, akin to other functional exponents, can navigate the syntactic structure and can fill various projections on the basis of a featural-checking criterion.

3   Giorgi and Pianesi firmly stated that verb movement to the CP in complementizer deletion configuration is the result of the irrealis (or subjunctive) mood property of the verb itself which realizes a "syncretic category [...] projecting the agreement and the mood features" (1997, 239).

Along the lines of the account provided by Poletto (1995) for CD1 in standard Italian, Cocchi and Poletto (2002; 2007) attempted to unify complementizer deletion under the 'alternative checking hypothesis', according to which two elements are alternative checkers if they check the same bundle of formal features while competing for the analogous structural projection (Zanuttini 1997; Obenauer 2001; Cocchi, Poletto 2002; 2007). In this regard, in Italian the alternative checking configuration affects the declarative complementizer and the embedded verb, while in Florentine, it involves the declarative complementizer and the intervening element between the main and the embedded predicate. Therefore, Cocchi and Poletto (2002) hypothesized that in Florentine complementizer drop configurations, the subordinate verb is stranded in the inflectional domain, whereas the clitic-like item interposing between the two verbs is displaced towards the left-periphery. Moreover, as opposed to complementizer deletion in Italian, where the embedded verb raises to the low left-periphery, namely to FinP, to check the irrealis feature, in Florentine, the feature involved is associated with a higher functional projection, that is ForceP, where the clitic-like element moves to. One of the leading arguments in favor of a distinct structural projection hosting respectively the embedded verb in Italian complementizer drop and the clitic-like exponent in Florentine complementizer drop is that whereas the former licenses a preverbal lexical subject intervening between the main and the embedded verb, the latter rules it out:

(6) Cocchi, Poletto 2002, 9 ex. 21a, 21b

    a. *Credo **Gianni** abbia   telefonato*
       believe Gianni has.sbjv called
       'I believe Gianni has called'

    b. **Maria mi ha detto **Gianni** un ha portato   il libro*
       Maria to-me has   said Gianni not has brought the book
       'Maria told me Gianni has not brought the book'

According to Cocchi and Poletto (2002), the ungrammaticality of (6b) is due to the highest functional projection filled by the clitic-like element *un* 'not'. By assuming that the negator undergoes a displacement to ForceP, the fine-structure of the left-periphery does not permit any other functional exponents to precede it. On the other hand, the movement towards FinP in (6a) does not inhibit other left-peripheral dislocations to the left of the embedded verb.

    The account provided by Cocchi and Poletto (2002) in order to explain the ungrammaticality of (6b) has a double-edged consequence: whereas it adequately justifies its ill-formedness, it concomitantly predicts that the opposite order between the clitic and the preverbal lexical subject is expected. Structurally speaking, if the negator fills a high structural projection like Force, it naturally precedes other

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left-peripheral or inflectional items like a preverbal lexical subject. However, a sentence like (7) results ungrammatical as well:

(7) Florentine (Cocchi, Poletto 2002, 11 ex. 23)
   *Mi dispiace un Gianni viene stasera
   I am sorry not   Gianni comes   tonight

The solution proposed by Cocchi and Poletto (2002) to account for the ungrammaticality of (7) is that there exist some phonological form (PF) constraints that force the negator, as a clitic element, to form a unique unit with the verb at the phonological level, hence provoking a strict adjacency between the clitic and embedded verb at the surface form.

Cocchi and Poletto (2007) proposed a different analysis to account for complementizer drop in Florentine; still embracing the 'alternative checking hypothesis', they ruled out the movement of the intervening clitic, whereas they relied on the Agree operation. In other words, the clitic does not raise to any left-peripheral projection, but it remains within the IP along with the embedded verb being probed by Force°. The postulation of the Agree operation can solve the issue related to (7) without referring to PF constraints. Indeed, if the intervening clitic remains adjacent to the embedded verb, it comes straightforward that a preverbal subject cannot be sandwiched between them.

In sum, Cocchi and Poletto (2002; 2007) treated complementizer deletion in Italian and Florentine in a similar vein, positing that they both instantiate alternative checking between the declarative complementizer and an additional exponent: while the former licenses embedded verb movement to Fin alternating with the complementizer, the latter resorts either to the displacement towards Force of the clitic-like element available in an intermediate position between the main and the embedded verb (Cocchi, Poletto 2002) or to the Agree operation taking place between Force° and the clitic in its merge position.

A more recent approach to complementizer deletion in Florentine highlights the role of the embedded verb (see Isolani 2023). More specifically, given the account provided by Cocchi and Poletto (2002) for the ungrammaticality of (7) relying on some PF constraints and not on purely syntactic basis and given the ambiguous status of the intervening clitic-like element (Cocchi, Poletto 2007), the proposal advanced by Isolani (2023) focuses on the role of the embedded verb rather than the clitic itself.[4] Along these lines, a stricter link

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[4] Notwithstanding the syntactic base account provided for the ungrammaticality of (7), the proposal advanced by Cocchi and Poletto (2007) results controversial in terms of the vague definition of intervening clitic assumed. Cocchi and Poletto (2007) established the head nature of the clitic, but they distinguished between subject/object clitic, encoding argumental feature and negators/auxiliaries bearing declarative feature. However, this distribution does not make explicit the selection of one or the other set of features

between complementizer omission in Italian and Florentine is established whereby they both involve verb movement towards the left-periphery: the former to FinP and the latter to ForceP.

The exclusion of the clitic-like displacement in Florentine structures rests on several pieces of evidence showing its vague and optional nature. In particular, Isolani (2023) observed that this item is not obligatory as Cocchi and Poletto (2002; 2007) predicted. In order to verify that, Florentine was excluded as, given its subject clitic nature, it is very unlikely that the selecting verb is adjacent to the embedded verb without any intervening pronominal clitic. Conversely, Pisano was taken into account; on a par with Florentine, Pisano shows a more flexible approach to complementizer deletion by accepting more combinations of main and embedded verbs than standard Italian, hence abstracting away from pure (1).[5] Additionally, Pisano does not present subject clitic, thus the main and embedded verb can potentially be adjacent:

(8) Pisano

    a. *Ha   detto viene   da solo*
       has   said   comes.ind alone
       'He has said that he comes alone'

    b. *Penso venga   da solo*
       think come.sbjv alone
       'I think he comes alone'

    c. *Mi dispiace   venga   da solo*
       I am sorry   come.sbjv alone
       'I am sorry he comes alone'

The well-formedness of (8a,b,c), exhibiting different combinations of main and embedded verbs, reveals the optionality of the intervening item. Therefore, if the clitic is not obligatory, Cocchi and Poletto's proposal (2002) on clitic movement in Florentine complementizer

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in different configurations. Also, it remains obscure why pronominal clitics like reflexives, locatives and partitives are not included in the set of interveners (cf. Isolani 2023).

5   As mentioned by Isolani (2023), the status of complementizer drop in Pisano still needs a proper investigation. It seems, indeed, not only to depart from the case of Italian, but also from Florentine, as not all the combinations of main and embedded verbs available in the latter are admissible in Pisano. For instance if the selecting verb is non-bridge and the embedded verb is realis, the structure is degraded:

(2) Pisano
    *Mi dispiace rompono sempre tutto
    I am sorry break.ind always everything
    'I am sorry they always break everything'

Replying to the intuition of one of the reviewers of this article, the introduction of a clitic exponent between the main and the embedded verb does not significantly improve the grammaticality judgment of (2), retaining a strong preference for an embedded verb inflected for irrealis morphology in the subordinate clause.

drop structures is called into question; the clitic cannot function as the main character in the derivation if it can be omitted.[6]

The solution advanced by Isolani (2023) is that in Florentine, the embedded verb raises towards the left-periphery, in the same vein as in Italian, whereas the clitic, if present, can move along with the verb.[7] If this is truly the case, the sentence in (7) can be discarded by assuming that, in Florentine, the verb is unable to follow a pre-verbal lexical subject owing to its prominent position, from which it can only precede it. Thus, this approach permits the elimination of (7) relying on syntactic analysis rather than on PF constraints. As also mentioned in footnote 4, Cocchi and Poletto's account (2007) is ruled out even though it syntactically accounts for the ill-formedness of (7) because of the vague definition and adoption of clitics as interveners. The complete rejection of a clitic-base account given its optionality permits to exclude any ambiguity related to the status and classification of pronominal clitics.

In short, Isolani (2023) proposed a parallel analysis of complementizer deletion in Florentine, based entirely on embedded verb movement along with the proposal advanced for Italian by Poletto (1995). In this regard, the occurrence of the intervening clitic element is fundamentally irrelevant. Complementizer deletion in Italian and Florentine can, hence, be unified under the verb movement to the CP hypothesis, whereby the predicate reaches distinct structural projections according to the feature in need to be checked.

Finally, some words on the generation site of the complementizer. The complementizer is usually considered as generated in dedicated functional projections in the LP (cf. Rizzi 1997). However, building on Leu (2015), Samo (2019a, ch. 4) proposes an IP internal nature of the complementizer for Germanic, drawing on locality constraints. A different base-generation site of the complementizer would not affect, at this stage, with our tools, the results of our study.

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6 It is worthwhile reminding that the reason why complementizer deletion structures in Florentine are well-formed only if an intervening clitic-like element occurs is due to the subject clitic nature of the language itself. Since structures without an overt subject clitic are ungrammatical in Florentine, it results that in subordinate configuration lacking the declarative complementizer, the embedded verb must be preceded by (at least) a subject clitic. From the opposite perspective, the ungrammaticality of a construction without the declarative complementizer and without an intervening clitic-like element, presumably due to the subject nature, is not due to the lack of former, but actually to the absence of the latter, which is mandatory in a subject clitic variety like Florentine.

7 Other evidence provided by Isolani (2023) to support this hypothesis concerns the order between the embedded verb and other left-peripheral items, revealing that the verb can only precede focalized or topicalized constituents, whereas it naturally precedes hanging topics. This piece of evidence further upholds the view that the embedded predicate in this configuration is displaced towards a significantly high position in the structure, presumably in Force.

The complementizer deletion patterns are primarily drawn along the split between the main and embedded verb and their idiosyncratic properties: the selecting verb is likely to reconcile with Vikner's (1994) classification of bridge and non-bridge verb, whereas the embedded verb needs to comply with a specific inflectional morphology. The positive outcome of the combination of main and embedded verb results in the movement of the embedded verb and in the omission of the complementizer. However, as hinted in this section, no clear statement has ever been put forth to disentangle the cause-effect conflict concerning complementizer deletion and verb movement. In other words, although some authors seem to implicitly prefer one or the other option, it remains obscure whether verb movement takes place because of the absence of the complementizer and of the subsequent need to check some relevant feature that would remain unchecked otherwise or whether the lack of the complementizer is a direct consequence of the verb raising towards the left-periphery, inevitably triggering a complementary distribution configuration.

Summing up, we can identify the theoretical grounds for the two models.

1. *Model CD*: The verb of the main clause selects the underlying CP. The relevant features of such a selection should be checked by the complementizer. In its absence, due to featural checking requirements, the verb has to be raised to the C layer.

   (9)   CD
      if $[_C [_T [_V [_C \varnothing [_T \text{verb} [_{vP} <\text{verb}>]]]]$
      then $[_C [_T [_V [_C \text{verb} [_T <\text{verb}> [_{vP} <\text{verb}>]]]]$

2. *Model CR*: The verb of the main clause selects the underlying CP and its verbal root. The verb raises to the C layer to comply with such a selection, but different factors may undermine the required movement. The complementizer thus emerges to check the relevant requirements.

   (10) CR
      if $[_C [_T [_V [_C <0> [_T \text{verb} [_{vP} <\text{verb}>]]]]$
            ← X ←
      then $[_C [_T [_V [_C \text{comp} [_T \text{verb} [_{vP} <\text{verb}>]]]]$

In the remainder of this article, we run a quantitative and computational study to compare the two models. Section 3 presents the quantification of the hypotheses.

3   Quantifying the Hypotheses

To compare the two models, we follow an approach inspired by the studies in Quantitative Computational Syntax (Merlo 2016), which explores large-scale datasets and simple computational models. An important contribution of this framework is to adopt frequency as a dependent variable to test linguistic proposals. Frequency acts as a measure of syntactic computation *id est* frequency depends on grammar and may reveal important facts of the underlying structure. Following Samo and Merlo (2021, 29) the quantitative dimension of structures in large datasets allows us "to develop investigations of the correlation between quantitative linguistic properties and theory-driven abstract linguistic representations and operations".

We operate as follows. We decided to collect data in German, a V2 language, Italian and Old Florentine (14th century). These three languages are presented in syntactically annotated treebanks under the guidelines of Universal Dependencies (UD; De Marneffe et al. 2021). UD allow for a fine-grained syntactic search and for the retrieval of lemmas, uninflected verbal form (e.g. the retrieval of the annotated lemma *credere* 'believe' from the Italian treebanks will provide us with all the inflections of the verb), as well as the mood, when annotated, of the inflection (e.g. SUB for subjunctive). Please note that the treebanks for Old Florentine follow the contemporary Italian lemma instructions, which favor our analysis. Details on the size of the treebanks and the query structures are given in section 4 ("Materials & Methods") and in the supplementary materials.

The first independent variable under investigation is represented by the type of verb in the main clause. We have decided to isolate a restricted set of four verbs labeled as bridge verbs – the German and Italian forms of the verbs 'to believe', 'to know', 'to think' and 'to hope'. As a control group, we use non-bridge verbs that usually license the presence of the complementizer ('to regret', 'to notice', 'to confirm' and 'to doubt'): we label this group "License" [tab. 1].

The second independent variable is the presence (Comp) or the absence (V-to-C) of the complementizer in the embedded clause introduced by the verbs in Table 1 in the relevant treebanks. Finally, a third independent variable is the mood of the inflection of the verb in the embedded clause. Relying on the annotation scheme, and simplifying our model in just two values, we have decided to only operate our counts with respect to subjunctive (SUB) and non-subjunctive (non-SUB).

The two models, CD and CR, make different predictions with respect to the computational costs of the structures. As a reminder, CD proposes that the complementizer is present (let us call it the simpler, 'canonical' configuration) but then it is omitted (more complex,

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'marked' configuration); on the other hand, CR stipulates that the verb moves ('canonical'), but if the movement does not take place, a complementizer emerges ('marked').

Table 1   Sets of bridge verbs and 'license' verbs lemmas in Italian and German and their English glosses

English Gloss	(Old) Italian	German
Bridge Verbs		
believe	credere	glauben
know	sapere	wissen
think	pensare	denken
hope	sperare	hoffen
'License' Verbs		
regret	dispiacersi	bedauern
notice	accorgersi	bemerken
confirm	confermare	bestätigen
doubt	dubitare	zweifeln

Different hypotheses can be carried out and all of them have a crosslinguistic nature. A non-trivial first hypothesis is related to the probability of the presence of the complementizer (Comp) with bridge and license verbs. The two models assume two different generative processes: CD stipulates that the presence of the complementizer (Comp) is easier than the movement of the verb (V-to-C), while CR postulates the opposite. Therefore, in both cases we expect asymmetric distributions. Due to the quantitative nature of this study, we can also test how much our results are given by exploring a binomial distribution (in line with Samo, Merlo 2019).

The second hypothesis is related to Sub in bridge verbs: CR makes clear predictions with respect to the movement of the verb inflected with subjunctive mood: bridge verbs should favor this configuration. In order to detect forms of preferences, we need to create simulated counts representing a baseline, such as expected counts (Exp) on the basis of the probability distribution of subjunctive forms in the entire treebank. This comparison between observed counts in the given configuration (e.g. subjunctive mood of the embedded verb selected by a bridge verb), and expected counts, an imputed count on the basis of the mere probability of an event to occur (e.g. the probability of a verb of being subjunctive in a given dataset) has been successfully explored across phenomena and languages in quantitative computational syntax (see the overview in Merlo, Samo forthcoming; see also Van Craenenbroeck, Van Koppen 2022; Samo, Merlo 2019; 2021; Merlo, Samo 2022).

No other asymmetry is predicted, therefore we should expect that for verbs introduced by complementizers for CR, and both configurations for CD, the observed counts should be similar ($\approx$) to the expected one. The hypotheses are summarized in **[tab. 2]**.

Table 2 Hypotheses and predictions for each model; > stands for higher probability

Model	Comp vs. V-to-C	Sub vs. Non-Sub
CD	Comp > V-to-C	$Sub_{Comp} \approx Sub_{Exp} Sub_{v\text{-}to\text{-}C} \approx Sub_{Exp}$
CR	V-to-C > Comp	$Sub_{Comp} \approx Sub_{Exp} Sub_{v\text{-}to\text{-}C} > Sub_{Exp}$

The materials and methods of the study are presented in section 4.

4   Materials & Methods

We explored seven treebanks (three for Italian and German, one for Old Florentine) annotated following the guidelines of UD. The treebanks belong to different registers and genres including, but not limited to, newspapers, legal texts, encyclopedic entries and social media. One treebank for German (LIT) and the Old Florentine datasets contain poetry and literature. In particular, the Old Florentine treebank (labeled as Old Italian in the UD community) represents the syntactically annotated corpus of Dante's Divine Comedy. Although we recognize this factor as a limitation, due to the constraints that poetic texts inherently bear for generative analysis, we do believe that our results are indicative - we are looking to some syntactic aspects triggered by the lexicon, which will not be extremely affected by the text genre. From a replicability point of view, the process can be fully automatized and not rely on additional manual annotation **[tab. 3]**.

We automatically retrieved the counts via a python script from *grew.count.fr*. All the queries and scripts are available as supplementary files. Relevant examples of structures from the Italian treebank ISDT are given in **[tab. 4]**.

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Table 3   Treebanks, size in terms of tokens and trees and references

Language	Treebank	Size (tokens)	Size (trees)	References
Italian	ISDT v.2.13 [l, n, w]	278,461	14,167	Bosco et al. 2014
	VIT v.2.13 [n, nf]	259,625	10,087	Alfieri, Tamburini 2016
	PoSTWITA v.2.13 [sm]	119,334	6,712	Sanguinetti et al. 2018
German	HDT v.2.13 [n, nf, web]	3,399,390	189,928	Borges Völker et al. 2019
	GSD v.2.13 [n, r, w]	287,721	15,590	See caption
	LIT v.2.13 [nf]	40,340	1,920	
Old Florentine	Italian-Old v.2.13 [p]	80,694	2,402	Corbetta, Passarotti, Moretti 2024[8]

Table 4   Examples of conditions, queries and output sentences (with their ID)

Condition	Query	Example (ID)
Bridge + Comp	pattern { verb [lemma= credere | sapere | pensare | sperare]; verb -[ccomp]-> CP2; CP2 -[mark]-> Comp }	*Spero che sarà esaminata con uno spirito positivo* 'I hope that it will be looked at in a positive spirit' (2_Europarl-42)
License + Comp	pattern { verb [lemma= dispiacere | accorgere | confermare | dubitare]; verb -[ccomp]-> CP2; CP2 -[mark]-> Comp }	*altri documenti confermano che Piero fu suo assistente* 'other documents confirm that Piero was his assistant' (tut-3318)
Bridge + SUB + Comp	pattern { verb [lemma= credere | sapere | pensare | sperare]; verb -[ccomp]-> CP2; CP2 -[cop | aux]-> aux; aux [Mood = Sub]; CP2 -[mark]-> Comp }	*Credo che certe cose possano pure stancare* 'I believe that certain things can also be tiring' (isst_tanl-2463)
Bridge + SUB + V-to-C	pattern { verb [lemma= credere | sapere | pensare | sperare]; verb -[ccomp]-> CP2; CP2 [Mood = Sub]} without { CP2 -[mark]-> Comp }	*Spero non si arrabbino quelli che mi danno da mangiare (il gruppo sportivo Carabinieri) ma io voto dall'altra parte* 'I hope those who feed me (the Carabinieri sports group) don't get angry but I vote the other way' (isst_tanl-2235)[9]

We explore all the treebanks for the first hypothesis (comp vs. V-to-C), while for the second hypothesis we also manually observed the quality of the annotation. As a matter of fact only, the German treebank GSD clearly marked subjunctive forms. We therefore have decided to only work GSD and on the Italian treebank ISDT to maintain

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[8] For the references of GSD and LIT see the relevant treebank hub pages: https://universaldependencies.org/treebanks/de_gsd/index.html. Genres: l = legal, n = news, nf = nonfiction, p = poetry, sm = social media, r = reviews, w = wiki, web = web.

[9] Please note that the form *arrabbino* 'to get angry' is present in the original naturally occurring example.

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comparable sizes since (*circa* 15,000 trees). The results are presented and discussed in section 5.

5 Results & Discussion

All data points are available in the Appendix. We here present the relevant data for the two hypotheses. As stated in section 3, we compare the two models with respect to the probability of the presence of the complementizer in bridge verbs. Table 5 presents the probability in bridge verbs compared to a random group (given by an exact binomial p) and the license group. We aggregate the counts of all treebanks for each language.

Table 5 Probability of complementizer presence with bridge verbs, license verbs and a 'random' control group explored with the binomial

Language	Bridge	bin. p (random)	License
Italian	0.77	< 0.00001	0.92
German	0.75	< 0.00001	0.81
Old Florentine	0.74	0.00004	1.00

As Table 5 shows, the probability of the presence of the complementizer with bridge verbs is similar across languages (Italian 77%, German 75% and Old Florentine 74%). Our results also demonstrate that bridge verbs are different from license verbs with respect to the presence of the complementizer (Italian 92%, German 81% and Florentine 100%) and from a 'random' group that would have established a 50% probability of presence of the complementizer in the three languages. In other words, we observe a clear tendency to rule out complementizer omission in bridge verbs, supporting the predictions of the CD model.

Let us move to the second hypothesis related to the presence of the subjunctive inflection in the embedded verb. In this case, we adopt the simple computational model based on the comparison between an observed distribution and the expected distribution, as discussed in section 3. The results are summarized in **[fig. 1]** and can be read as follows. The data from German clearly confirm the predictions of the CD model, in line with the literature on Germanic (see section 2): the expected counts are similar to the observed counts (17% vs. 17% and 18%). The Italian data display a higher distribution of subjunctive in embedded clauses introduced by bridge verbs signaling that the selection ability of the bridge verb does play an important role. Finally, the Old Florentine data show an intriguing result: the observed counts (11%) for V-to-C are similar to German (18%), while
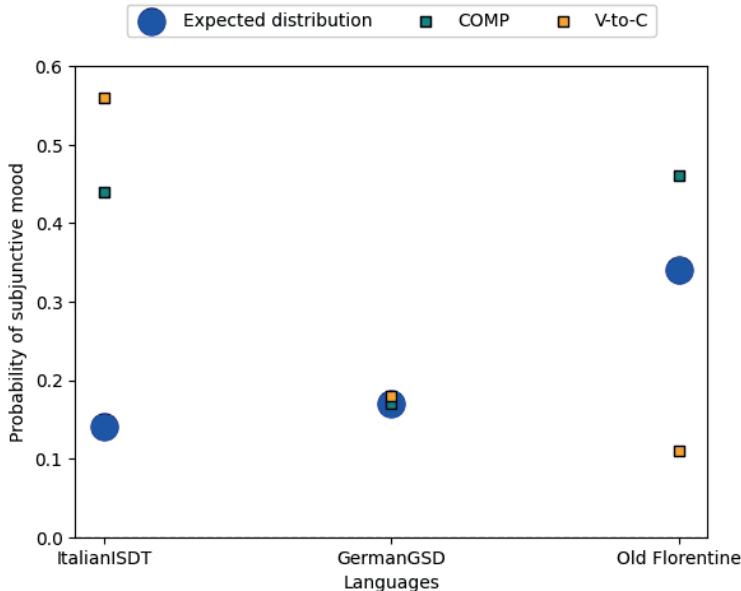
Figure 1 Probability of subjunctive mood in main/embedded verbs in the entirety of the treebank (expected) and in those embedded contexts with (Comp) or without (V-to-C) complementizer introduced by the bridge verb.

the Comp figures (46%) are similar to Italian (44%). Future studies should investigate such behavior.

Let us compare the predictions of each model given in **[tab. 2]** with the output of our study, as given in **[tab. 6]**.

Table 6   Hypotheses and confirmation

Model	Comp vs. V-to-C	Hypothesis confirmed	Sub vs. Non-Sub	Hypothesis confirmed
CD	Comp > V-to-C	✔	$Sub_{Comp} \approx Sub_{Exp}$ $Sub_{v\text{-}to\text{-}C} \approx Sub_{Exp}$	Only for German
CR	V-to-C > Comp	X	$Sub_{Comp} \approx Sub_{Exp}$ $Sub_{v\text{-}to\text{-}C} > Sub_{Exp}$	Partially for Italian

While the investigation of the first hypothesis (Comp vs. V-to-C) shows clear results and a winning model (CD), the exploration of the second hypothesis reveals meaningful points of analysis. The resulting asymmetry between German and the two Romance languages seems to comply with the early observation by Giorgi and Pianesi (1997). The CR model's predictions are partially corroborated by the Italian data.

We believe that the preliminary results of this study might be of interest for the theoretical community working on complementizer omission and on optionality. Future studies should improve the methodology and in line with other works on quantitative analyses of optionality (Samo, Si 2024) explore even larger and non-syntactically annotated datasets which may provide a richer quantitative dimension.

6 Conclusions

In this paper we have presented a methodology borrowed from quantitative computational syntax to test a fine-grained research question on two different models trying to explain the presence or the absence of the complementizer in embedded clauses selected by bridge verbs. Specifically, we have tested two models: a Complementizer Deletion and a Complementizer Rise model.

We explored seven large-scale treebanks and simple computational models to compare the predictions of the two models under investigation. Our results show that the Complementizer Deletion model maps the results in a precise way, at least for German, while the Complementizer Rise model seems to be, partially, a good model for Italian.

The processes of model comparison and model selection represent methodologies to test, in a quantitative and computational way, the predictions of formal theories and, ultimately, to understand their learnability (cf. Merlo 2016). However, the comparison and the selection should always depend on factors of grammaticality since simulated data, as expected counts, are built on grammatical clauses extracted from large-scale datasets. Dialogue with frameworks like cartography and their strong empirical predictive power allows for such experiments. Recently, these works have tested the generation site of constituents and the functional lexicon (e.g., testing whether initial non-arguments are generated or moved; Samo 2022) and locality effects (bottleneck effects and locality in V2 languages; Samo 2023). The creation of dedicated annotated corpora might be an additional layer of work that prevents full automation of the process. However, translations of available sources (Samo 2019b) or the exploration of large-language models (see details in Merlo, Samo, forthcoming; Wilcox, Futrell, Levy 2023) are viable solutions. With respect to complementizer deletion, such explorations, once all external factors are accounted for, might represent forms of improvement of the methodology outlined here.

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Appendix

Table 7 Raw data.

Corpus	# sentences	Bridge_Tot	Bridge_Comp	Br_CompSUBAux	Br_CompSUBLex	Br_V2C_SUBAux	Br_V2C_SUBLex
UD_Italian-ISDT@2.13	14167	139	112	31	18	13	2
UD_Italian-VIT@2.13	10087	157	134	8	4	1	1
UD_Italian-PoSTWITA@2.13	6712	217	149	25	33	13	20
Total ITA	30966	513	395	64	55	27	23
UD_German-HDT@2.13	189928	763	591	0	0	0	0
UD_German-GSD@2.13	15590	46	24	4	0	3	1
UD_German-LIT@2.13	1920	23	13	0	0	0	0
Total DEU	207438	832	628	4	0	3	1
UD_Italian-Old@2.13	1228	68	50	8	15	1	1

Corpus		Lic_Tot	Lic_Comp	Lic_CompSUBAux	Lic_CompSUBLex	Lic_VerbSUBAux	Lic_VerbSUBLex
UD_Italian-ISDT@2.13		8	8	1	0	0	0
UD_Italian-VIT@2.13		20	18	0	0	0	0
UD_Italian-PoSTWITA@2.13		8	7	1	1	0	0
Total ITA		36	33	2	1	0	0
UD_German-HDT@2.13		57	46	0	0	0	0
UD_German-GSD@2.13		2	2	0	2	0	0
UD_German-LIT@2.13		0	0	0	0	0	0
Total DEU		59	48	0	2	0	0
UD_Italian-Old@2.13		5	5	0	0	0	0

Corpus	# sentences	SUBAux	SUBLex	Aux_Tot	Lex_Tot
UD_Italian-ISDT@2.13	14167	412	1093	9468	1093
UD_German-GSD@2.13	15590	539	769	7142	769
UD_Italian-Old@2.13	1228	79	430	1067	430

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Contact-Induced Change in Sicilian Gallo-Italic
The Multipurpose *Aviri a* + Infinitive Construction in the Dialect of Nicosia

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Abstract   In this paper we focus on an aspect of the change in the syntax of the Gallo-Italic variety of Nicosia (Enna), presumably fostered by prolonged contact with Sicilian: the use of the *Aviri a* + Infinitive Construction (AICo). This periphrasis can cover different functions (deontic, epistemic, futural, and optative) and, in Nicosiano, can surface in different configurations. We considered a written corpus containing works (poetry, short stories, novels, theatre plays) by the two major authors in Nicosiano: La Giglia (1862-1922) and Castrogiovanni (1933-2007). We compared the occurrences of the AICo in the corpus with those of modal *dövë*'must' and synthetic future forms, whose functions generally overlap with those of the AICo. The data collected confirm the effects of Sicilian on Nicosiano: the AICo has almost completely taken over *dövë* and synthetic forms for all the functions considered, the latter constructions generally occurring in crystallised expressions in the corpus.

Keywords   Gallo-italic. Sicilian. functional HAVE. multipurpose periphrases. contact phenomena

1 Introduction

The Gallo-Italic varieties[1] spoken in Sicily represent a linguistic phenomenon emerging from the migration of settlers from southern Piedmont and Liguria to central-eastern Sicily during the Norman conquest between 1061 and 1091 (cf. Petracco Sicardi 1969; Pfister 1988; Trovato 1998; 2013). This migration was motivated by the need to fill a demographic vacuum left by the Norman occupation and resulted in a significant sociolinguistic shift in the region. The settlers, coming from regions with distinct linguistic characteristics, mostly did not establish new towns but integrated into existing Sicilian communities. This integration process fostered a complex linguistic scenario where Gallo-Italic dialects developed independently from their homeland counterparts in northern Italy and alongside the indigenous Sicilian varieties, leading to areas of bilingualism and varying degrees of language proficiency.

Today, these Gallo-Italic dialects are spoken in approximately ten villages, marking a linguistic identity distinct from the surrounding Sicilian dialects mainly in terms of phonetic and phonological features, but also of inflectional morphology. However, beyond these villages, Gallo-Italic features are also detectable in broader areas, especially within the provinces of Messina, Catania, and Enna.[2] The historical context of these migrations has had profound sociolinguistic implications. The coexistence of Gallo-Italic and Sicilian communities sometimes led to rivalry and conflict but also resulted in the emergence of bilingual speakers.[3] The degree of bilingualism varied, influenced by factors such as village or town size and the relative prestige of the languages. For instance, in San Fratello (Messina), the Gallo-Italic dialect exhibited "lively vitality and granitic compactness" by the end of the 1960s (cf. Tropea 1974, 371), with Sicilian restricted to formal contexts. Conversely, in places like Nicosia, Aidone, and Novara di Sicilia, a symbiosis with Sicilian dialects was

2   Trovato (1998, 538-39) identifies three linguistic areas with varying levels of Gallo-Italic features. The first area (Group A), where the local varieties spoken are Gallo-Italic with some Sicilian influences, includes San Fratello, San Piero Patti, Montalbano Elicona, Novara di Sicilia with Fondachelli-Fantina (in the consortium of municipalities of Messina), Randazzo (Catania), Ferla (Syracuse), Piazza Armerina, Aidone, Nicosia and Sperlinga (Enna).

3   And trilingual speakers with the spread of Italian after the Unification in 1861.

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observed, though with notable differences in the sociolinguistic dynamics among these localities (cf. Trovato 1998).

Despite the pervasive influence of Sicilian, and, later, of regional Italian, on the Gallo-Italic dialects, their phonetic and phonological systems have remained remarkably conservative. This conservation, which is noteworthy because of the extensive borrowing of lexical items and syntactic patterns from Sicilian, has recently led to a research project started by De Angelis (2023). This linguistic scenario presents a complex interplay between historical migration patterns, sociolinguistic dynamics, and language preservation efforts. The resilience of these varieties reflects a deep-seated sense of linguistic identity among speakers, underscored by their efforts to maintain distinct phonetic characteristics, a phenomenon that De Angelis (2023, 14) calls 'Phonetics as Last'.

In this respect, syntax lies in the opposite extreme of the continuum, since most Sicilian traits have permeated the local Gallo-Italic dialects to the point that nowadays the latter appear as 'Sicilian' (or sometimes, more generally, as southern Italo-Romance) from a syntactic point of view (cf. De Angelis 2023, 3-6). Some of the most remarkable syntactic features (cf. Trovato 1998) are: (i) a type of differential object marking often referred to as 'prepositional accusative' (cf. De Angelis 2022, § 5.1.3); (ii) the construction WANT + past participle (a form of WANT passive widespread in southern Italo-Romance in general; cf. Ledgeway 2016a, 267);[4] (iii) the generalisation of the auxiliary HAVE in the present perfect and the pluperfect indicative instead of the opposition BE/HAVE attested in Italian (cf. Rohlfs 1969, § 729); (iv) the adverbial function of adjectival forms (cf. Bonner 2001); (v) the prolative function of noun, adjective and adverbs reduplication (cf. Castiglione, Chilà 2023); (vi) the so-called 'loismo', i.e. the optional replacement of the indirect object clitic pronoun with the direct object clitic one (cf. De Angelis 2022, 23); (vii) informational non-contrastive Focus Fronting (cf. Cruschina 2012); (viii) the inverted vocative (cf. Sgroi 1990, 218). Moreover, in the verbal domain, different multi-purpose two-verb periphrases with a functional verb (namely, either a motion verb, STAY, or HAVE) and a lexical verb either tensed or not tensed (infinitive or gerund) can be found (cf. Ledgeway 2012). Finally, we can add a phenomenon that has not received attention in the literature, namely the argument structure of some Sicilian Gallo-Italic verbs that diverge from their Italian counterparts and follow the Sicilian path, cf. the

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4 See, e.g., the following example from Menza (2017, 74) in Nicosiano:

(i) *Vuò   strengiud'   a   man.*
     want.3SG held.PAST.PART.F the   hand.F
     '(S)he wants his/her hand held.'

anti-causative non pronominal Nicosiano verbs *ddumè* 'light up' and *squaghjè* 'melt down' vs. the Italian pronominal *accendersi* and *sciogliersi*, respectively.[5]

The case of the central variety spoken in Nicosia (Enna) is particularly relevant, since diatopic variation is found in the small city (less than 13,000 inhab.), according to which the variety spoken in the districts of Santa Maria and San Michele are more Gallo-Italic oriented, compared to the lower district of San Nicolò (cf. Menza 2019). In the present paper, we focus on the syntactic and semantic properties of the *Aviri a* + Infinitive Construction (or AICo; cf. Di Caro 2019b) as found in a small written corpus in Nicosiano (see Section 3.2). The texts analysed were written by two local authors, i.e., Carmelo La Giglia (1862-1922; from San Nicolò) and Sigismondo Castrogiovanni (1933-2007; from San Michele).

The aim of this paper is manifold: to assess whether (i) there is micro-diatopic variation in the distribution of the structures; (ii) the author from the Gallo-Italic district of Nicosia (i.e., San Michele) shows a different linguistic behaviour from the author from the Sicilian district of Nicosia (i.e., San Nicolò). We also took into account an important syntactic phenomenon, referred to as Clitic Climbing, regarding the procliticisation onto the V1 of a pronoun that is an argument of the V2.[6] Clitic Climbing, although attested in Old Piedmontese (cf. Parry 1995), is not found in contemporary northern Italo-Romance dialects. Thus, the contact with Sicilian, if not the direct cause of the widespread Clitic Climbing displayed by Gallo-Italic varieties in Sicily, can at least be considered a reinforcing factor.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows: in Section 2 the Sicilian AICo is dealt with together with the competing constructions that can take on one or some of the AICo semantics, namely the synthetic future and modal MUST, with each subsection providing the Gallo-Italic counterparts, when attested; in Section 3 the corpus of written Nicosiano is described. The data collected are analysed and discussed in Section 4. Section 5 draws the conclusions.

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[5] Cf. Deliano *addrumari* 'light up' and *squagliari* 'melt down'. Note, however, that under the pressure exerted by Italian, the pronominal counterparts are now expected in Sicilian too (i.e., Deliano *addrumàrisi* and *squagliàrisi*).

[6] Following recent literature on Italo-Romance two-verb periphrases (cf. Di Caro 2017; 2019a; 2019b; Cardinaletti,Giusti 2020; Giusti, Cardinaletti 2022; Di Caro, Menza 2024; Di Caro, Molinari 2024), V1 and V2 are interpreted here as, respectively, the functional verb and the lexical verb of the relevant periphrasis.

2   The *Aviri a* + Infinitive Construction

The *Aviri a* + Infinitive Construction (here referred to as AICo; cf. Di Caro 2019b) is very common among southern Italo-Romance periphrases (cf. Amenta 2010).[7] In Sicily, the AICo has been attested since the 13th century (cf. Núñez Román 2007; 2009; Amenta 2010; Amenta, Paesano 2010; Di Caro 2019b). In this periphrasis, the V1 HAVE can take on different functions. It is used as a future marker in most Sicilian dialects (cf. (1a)), where a morphological future is no longer productive. The same holds true for the deontic function, since there is no continuation of Latin DEBĒRE 'must' in Sicilian (cf. (1b)).[8] A third, equally common function of V1 HAVE is that of epistemic marker (cf. (1c)). Finally, the AICo can also be used for optative purposes (cf. (1d)).

(1)	a.	Lu	misi	ca	trasi	amm'	a
		the	month	that	enters	have.PRS.1PL	to
		gghjiri	a	Londra.			
		go.INF	to	London			

'We're going to London next month.' [adapted from Di Caro (2019b, 223); Delia (Caltanissetta)]

	b.	Oi	amm'	a	ffari	la	spisa.
		today	have.PRS.1PL	to	do.INF	the	shopping

'We have to do the shopping today.' [adapted from Di Caro (2019b, 223); Delia (Caltanissetta)]

	c.	Sunaru?	chissu	lu	paccu	di	Amazon
		ring.PST.3PL	this	the	parcel	from	Amazon
		av'	a	èssiri.			
		has	to	be.INF			

'Did someone ring the bell? This must be Amazon.' [adapted from Di Caro (2019b, 223); Delia (Caltanissetta)]

	d.	T'	avìssiru		a	ngagliari	nni	la	facci!
		you	have.SUBJ.IMPF.3PL		to	hit.INF	in	the	face

'May they hit you in the face!' [Delia (Caltanissetta)]

Note that the *ammu* in the Deliano example in (1b) is a present indicative 1PL reduced form of HAVE (cf. the extended *avjimmu* 'we have') only found in grammaticalised periphrases such as the AICo and *Passato Prossimo* (Present Perfect), phonetic erosion being an expected result of grammaticalisation, cross-linguistically (cf. Heine, Reh 1984, 15; Bybee et al. 1994, 19).[9]

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[7] Rohlfs (1968, § 591) reports that this periphrasis is also attested in popular Florentine, in Sardinian, and Corsican.

[8] See Amenta, Paesano (2010, 21).

[9] With this regard, Di Caro (2019, 222) claims that, contrary to the AICo, the *Aviri di* + Infinitive Construction (i.e. the deontic construction featuring the connecting

2.1   The AICo in Nicosiano

In the Gallo-Italic varieties of Sicily, the AICo is also found robustly, and it can take on all the different semantic functions described for Sicilian in (1). In this respect, three features found in the Nicosiano texts are noteworthy: (i) there are remnants of the modal *dövĕ* 'must' (cf. It. *dovere*) which, however, displays a defective paradigm and is being progressively replaced by the AICo (cf. Trovato, Menza 2020: LXX; See Section 2.4);[10] (ii) there are remnants of morphological future forms, those again being progressively replaced by the AICo (cf. Trovato and Menza 2020: LXX); (iii) in the AICo the connecting element generally surfaces as *da* (cf. (2)), with [d] being just a transitional sound that may have presumably been influenced by the *Aviri da* Construction of the underlying Sicilian variety spoken in Nicosia before the Gallo-Italic immigration, witnessed by the neighbouring Sicilian varieties nowadays spoken in Enna and Gagliano Castelferrato (Menza 2019, 66; see also Castiglione, Menza 2024).[11]

(2) Amö   da *partö.*[1]
     have.PRS.1PL   to leave.INF

     'We have to leave.' [adapted from Trovato and Menza (2020, 59); Nicosia (Enna)]

1 Note that Nicosiano also displays a dedicated, reduced form for the present indicative 1PL of HAVE, namely *amö* (vs. extended *avë̀ma* 'we have'; cf. Trovato & Menza 2020: XX).

2.2   Clitic Climbing as a Restructuring Effect

Clitic Climbing is a widespread phenomenon in Romance, which is analysed as a transparency effect of restructuring verbs (cf. Rizzi 1982) and thus a property of monoclausal constructions. Italian displays optional Clitic Climbing while in Sicilian dialects it is obligatory.[12] De Angelis (2023) claims that the periphrases in the Gallo-Italic varieties of Sicily display Clitic Climbing regularly but probably not

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element *di*) shows a biclausal behaviour, since it neither allows for any reduced forms of HAVE, nor any Clitic Climbing (see Section 2.8). Following the same line of reasoning, the *Aviri cchi* (i.e. HAVE that) + Infinitive Construction, as in *aviri cchi fari* 'to have something to do' (cf. also Nicosiano *Nen à **che peliè*** NEG has that nibble.INF 'He has nothing to nibble'), is also biclausal and will not be considered in the present work.

10   Note, however, that it is not possible to exclude that modal *dövĕ* in Nicosiano could be an Italianism.

11   See Menza (2017; 2019) for an analysis of the different configurations of the AICo in Nicosiano according to the position of the element [d].

12   With some rare exceptions, i.e. cases in which the pronoun is enclitic onto the V2 (cf., e.g., Leone 1995, 58).

as a case of direct change by contact with Sicilian. Instead, Sicilian may have favoured the keeping of a phenomenon already present in those Gallo-Italic varieties that arrived in Sicily, since Clitic Climbing was widespread in Old Piedmontese and has gradually faded away.[13]

(3)	a.	Tâ	porta	o	tâ	vetrina	ghje	l'	aë
		in-the	door	or	in-the	window	to-it	it	have.PRS.2SG
		da	mpecighè.						
		to	stick.INF						

'You have to stick it either in the door or in the window.' [Castrogiovanni; Trovato & Menza (2020, 538-39)]

	b.	M'	aë		da	dè	a	mia	verghëtta.
		to-me	have.PRS.2SG		to	give.INF	the	my	wand

'You have to give me my own wand back.' [La Via][1]

	c.	Ghje	dissö		chëö	che	ghj'		avia
		to-him	tell.PST.3SG		what	that	to-him		have.IMPF.3SG
		da	dì.						
		DA	tell.INF						

'He told him what he had to tell him.' [La Via; Menza (2019, 64)]

1 Mariano La Via Bonelli was a lawyer, politician, and ethnolinguist born in Nicosia. As a linguist, he wrote phonetic essays and ethnographic texts, also providing the first orthographic system for Nicosiano. These works favoured the extensive written production of the first Nicosiano poet: Carmelo La Giglia (cf. Trovato 2003).

Our prediction is that Clitic Climbing will be found regularly among the occurrences of the relevant periphrases in the Nicosiano corpus.[14]

2.3 The Different Configurations of the AICo in Nicosiano

Let us now have a closer look at the different configurations the AICo can assume in Nicosiano according to the connecting element, and the interplay of the [d] element with HAVE and the clitic elements, if present. Menza (2019, 62-63) provides a thorough overview of all the

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13 Parry (2005) reports that Clitic Climbing is still found in the Ligurian village of Cairo Montenotte (in the province of Savona). Note, moreover, that although Clitic Climbing is reported to be typically found in central-southern Italo-Romance varieties (cf. Ledgeway 2016b, 223; Roberts 2016, 799), recent work on the relevant phenomenon by Cardinaletti, Giusti & Lebani (to appear) has shown that the scenario is way more complex than previously thought. With this respect, they show that many northern dialects, including that spoken in Zoagli, Genoa (AIS point 187; cf. Jaberg, Jud 1928-40) about one century ago, allowed Clitic Climbing (the map considered is 1086 *voglio attaccarla* 'I want to tie it').

14 For systematic Clitic Climbing with modals *völë* ('want') and *pödë* ('can') in Nicosiano, cf. Menza (2023, 169, fn. 10).

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phonological and syntactic realisations found in the Nicosiano AICo, which we adapted in (4):[15]

(4) a. HAVE+*a*+V2 ("a")

      Chëö   ch'   am'   a   vëndö.

      the-one   that   have.PRS.1PL   A   sell.INF

      'The one we have to sell.' [La Giglia]

  b. HAVE+*da*+V2 ("da"; cf. (2) *supra*)

      Amö   da   partö.

      have.PRS.1PL   DA   leave.INF

      'We have to leave.' [La Giglia]

  c. *d*-HAVE+V2 ("d-")

      Ö   lèvetö   d-   avia   essö   no

      the   yeast   D-   have.IMPF.3SG   be.INF   neither

      librö   moö   no   librö   durö.

      too   soft   nor   too   hard

      'The yeast had to be neither too soft nor too hard.' [Castrogiovanni]

  d. *d*-HAVE+*a*+V2 ("d+a")

      D'   am'   a   sparagnè.

      D-   have.PRS.1PL   A   save-money.INF

      'We have to save our money.' [La Giglia]

  e. CL+*d*-HAVE+*da*+V2 ("d+da")

      I   rradigadë   àutë   le   d-   avì   da   fè

      the   roots   high   them   D-   have.PRS.2PL   DA   make.INF

      söutè.

      pop-off.INF

      'You have to crop high roots.' [Castrogiovanni]

  f. D-+CL+HAVE+*a*+V2 ("d+a")

      Tutë   de   l'   an'   a   servö   ö   rrè.

      all   D-   him   have-PRS.3PL   A   serve   the   king

      'Everyone has to serve the king.' [Castrogiovanni]

  g. -D-+HAVE+V2 ("-d-")

      Adavì   venì   ô   matremönö.

      -D-+have.PRS.2PL   come.INF   to-the   wedding

      'You have to come to the wedding.' [Castrogiovanni]

  h. CL+-D-+HAVE+*a*+V2 ("-d-")

      Che   n'   àden'   a   fè   mangè?

      what   to-us   -D-+have.PRS.3PL   A   make.INF   eat.INF

      'What do they have to let us eat?' [La Via; Menza (2019)]

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[15] The configuration abbreviation shown into parentheses will be used henceforth. Note that some configurations display the same abbreviation, since the difference lies in the presence of Clitic Climbing, which is coded separately in the dataset.

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Let us now focus on the origin of the [d] element. Menza (2019, 62-63) considers all the different configurations in (4) as underlying one and the same structure that has undergone different degrees of reanalysis. The configuration in (4a) mimics the traditional Sicilian AICo with the connecting element *a* between V1 and V2. (4b) shows an instance of AICo with *da*. This is the default configuration in Nicosiano, where the [d] element appears on the complementiser. In (4c) the [d] element appears before HAVE. Menza (2019, 64) postulates the presence of an allomorph *d* in free variation with *da* but behaving as a proclitic element, which has to climb onto HAVE. The climbed allomorph *d* can yield a string that is not allowed in Nicosiano, namely *d*+C, which is solved by the insertion of a schwa. In the cases instantiated by (4d) and (4e), where the [d] element co-occurs with a complementiser (either *a* or *da*), the former may have been reanalysed as part of HAVE, thus surfacing as *davĕ* 'to have to'.[16] As for (4f), the element *de* on the left of the object clitic pronoun is interpreted by Menza (2019, 65) as the result of an epenthetic process inserting a [ə] to avoid the unacceptable combination of the two elements climbed onto HAVE, namely *d* and *l*. The latter element replaces all the accusative clitic pronominal forms found in Nicosiano (i.e. the singular masculine *ö*, the singular feminine *a*, and the indistinct plural *i*) when the following words start with a vowel, as is the case of all the forms of *avĕ* 'have'.

The steps in (5) reproduce the order of movements described by Menza (2019, 65) to account for all the different configurations corresponding to 'We have to do it':

(5) a. *Amö d fè l(ö)*
　　 b. *L$_i$ amö d fè t$_i$*
　　 c. *D$_j$ l$_i$ amö t$_j$ fè t$_i$*
　　 d. *D$_j$e l$_i$ amö t$_j$ fè t$_j$* (epenthesis of [ə])
　　 e. *L$_i$e d$_j$ amö t$_j$ fè t$_i$* (metathesis of the onset consonants of the first two syllables)

The only configuration not accounted for in (5) is that of the forms *adavì* (PRS.2PL), *àdemö* (PRS.1PL), *àdenö* (PRS.3PL) and *avìdenö* (IMPF.3PL), which according to Menza (2019, 65) are to be interpreted

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as the result of a phenomenon of opacification whence the integrity of *avĕ* 'have' is compromised, and the verb is no more recognisable. Once the complementiser is incorporated into HAVE, it no longer functions as such, so another complementiser can be inserted (as shown in (4g) and (4h)).

2.4   Modal MUST

If the use of the AICo is the result of the contact between local Sicilian and the Nicosiano Gallo-Italic (cf. De Angelis 2023), we expect to also find instances of morphological deontic (and epistemic) MUST in the texts available, at least in the earliest ones, considering the fact that this modal verb is typical of northern Gallo-Italic varieties.[17] Trovato and Menza (2020, LXX) provide the inflectional scheme of *dövĕ* 'must', which appears as a defective verb, and point out that the missing cells of the paradigm are filled in by the *avĕ a/da* periphrasis. The occurrence in (6) found in a text by La Giglia is taken from Trovato, Menza 2020 (306):

(6)	Don	Libertö	se	sentia	cacòciöla		e
	Don	Libertö	REFL	feel.IMPF.3SG	artichoke		and
	dövëndö	maridè				a	suorö…
	having-to	give-daughter's-hand-in-marriage.INF				the	sister

'Don Libertö thought he was smart and, since he had to marry her sister off…'
[La Giglia; Trovato and Menza (2020, 273)]

An interesting fact shared by Sicilian and Nicosiano is the persistence of the noun expressing the concepts of 'duty' and 'obligation' which derives from an infinitival form that is no more productive. Cf. Deliano *Fari lu sa dduviri* 'to do one's duty' (Di Caro 2019a, 170) and Nicosiano *Ma fazz'ö mia dövërë* 'but I do my duty'.

2.5   The Synthetic Future

Along with the other southern Italo-Romance varieties, Sicilian has generally abandoned the Latin (originally deobligative) synthetic

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17   Some northern Gallo-Italic varieties do show traces of AICo (featuring the connector *da*), as in Romagnolo (cf. Pellicciardi 1977, 135, *apud* Cruschina 2013, 275), where it fills some cells of the paradigm of modal *dvér* 'must', in a morphomic distribution called 'N-Pattern' (see, at least, Maide, O'Neill 2010). Note, however, that Emilia-Romagna is not among the areas from which Gallo-Italic settlers moved to Sicily.

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future,[18] replacing it with either the AICo – which only covered deontic uses in Old Sicilian (cf. Bentley 1998, 122-3) – or present indicative forms. The literature tends to describe the Sicilian synthetic future as a largely disused form of cultivated usage and of Tuscan influence (cf. D'Ovidio 1878, 183; Ebneter 1966, 36ff; Rohlfs 1968, § 589-91; Leone 1995, 36), which is now found mainly in north-eastern Sicily and in other isolated centres.[19] However, Bentley (1997, 50-3), Loporcaro (1999, 69ff) and, more recently, Assenza (2023) have argued in favour of an autochthonous form of synthetic future, especially in the northeastern area, albeit a recessive one today. Instances of synthetic future in Modern Sicilian are discussed in Bentley (1998), who reports that the linguistic scenario found in 19th century Sicily – exemplified by the collection of Sicilian tales and short stories by Giuseppe Pitrè, published in 1875 – shows a drastic change with respect to Old Sicilian, where the AICo was not used to indicate future tense.[20] Bentley (1998, 124) only found 37 occurrences of synthetic future in the whole Pitrè corpus, whereas the AICo has already also taken on epistemic functions, as shown in (7):

(7) a) Vaju   pi   lu   pumu   chi   sona.
        go.PRS.1SG for   the   apple that   sound.PRS.3SG
        Guai   ha   a   curriri…
        troubles   have.PRS.2SG   to   run.INF
        A: 'I'm going for the ringing apple'. B: 'You're gonna have some troubles…'
        [adapted from Pitrè ([1875] 1993: I, 322)]

    b) A   li   tri   anni…   chiantu   sti   favi   e
        to   the   three   years   plant.PRS.1SG these   fava-beans   and
        vidi   quantu   mi   nn'   hannu   a   fari!
        see.PRS.2SG how-much   to-me   NE   have.PRS.3PL   to   make.INF
        'I'm going to plant these fava beans in three years, and you'll see how
        many I'll get.' [adapted from Pitrè ([1875] 1993, II, 267)]

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18   This derives from a former periphrasis featuring a lexical verb in the infinitive and a postponed weakened form of HAVE (cf. Loporcaro 1999; Robert, Roussou 2003, 50; Ledgeway 2012, 135). For a comprehensive list of references on the origins and developments of synthetic future in Romance see Ledgeway (2012, 135, fn. 68).

19   See, e.g. the map 1661 and the conjugation tables 1684-1688 of the AIS (Jaberg and Jud 1928-1940).

20   Bentley (1998) suggests that a layering process (*à la* Hopper 1991, 22-4), according to which the new layer represented by the informal low-register uses of periphrastic future adds to the formal synthetic future layer in written texts, may have fostered the use of the AICo to express future in Modern Sicilian. See also Andriani et al. (2020, 329-40) for a generative account of the evolution of synthetic and periphrastic future from Latin to Italo-Romance.

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Occurrences of synthetic future in north-eastern Sicily are also discussed in Leone (1995), who reports forms such as *saravi* 's/he will be' in S. Teresa di Riva and Ucrìa, *vinirà* 's/he will come' and *farògghiu* 'I will do', both in Ucrìa. In a more recent fieldwork by Assenza (2023), both epistemic (8a) and deictic future (8b) uses of the synthetic future in north-eastern Sicily are documented:

(8) a. Me maritu   non   manciau: astura
         my husband   NEG   eat.PST.3SG   now

         aviràvi   fami.
         have.FUT.3SG   hunger

         'My husband has not eaten yet: he must be hungry now.' [adapted
         from Assenza (2023, 30); Messina; Taormina; Milazzo; Capo D'Orlando;
         Sant'Agata di Militello; Barcellona Pozzo di Gotto; Francavilla; Galati
         Mamertino][1]

    b. Dumani   venirànnu   i   nostri parenti.
        tomorrow   come.FUT.3PL the   our   relatives

        'Our relatives will come tomorrow.' [adapted from Assenza (2023, 30);
        Messina; Santa Teresa di Riva; Taormina; Milazzo; Capo D'Orlando;
        Barcellona Pozzo di Gotto; Francavilla; Galati Mamertino]

[1] Assenza (2023, 30, fn. 11) points out that the examples chosen to represent the translations provided by the participants in her study do not take into account any variety-specific orthographic differences.

Although Nicosia does not fall administratively under the influence of Messina, its geographic position is not far from the Messinese Gallo-Italic centres. The synthetic future in Nicosiano is attested in the available literature, where it can be used in the epistemic mood, as shown in (9):

(9) Sarerà   na   passïadina   dissö   ö   padrö.
     be.FUT.3SG   a   insect-sting say.PST.3SG the   father
     'It must be an insect sting, said the father.' [Trovato and Menza (2020, 75)]

Whether the occurrences of synthetic future in Nicosiano are limited to the epistemic uses or they are also used to indicate future tense is something we aim to assess in the analysis of the data from the corpus.

Now that all the constructions under investigation have been presented, we can delve into the corpus of Nicosiano, presented in Section 3.

3 The Corpus

3.1 Some Notes on the Dialect of Nicosia

Nicosia, a small centre located 724 metres above sea level in the consortium of municipalities of Enna, with 12,947 inhabitants (ISTAT 2022), is one of the ten main Gallo-Italic speaking centres of Sicily (cf. Trovato 1998). Its linguistic history is peculiar and shows the interaction of the northern settlers from Southern Piedmont and Liguria with the local Sicilian population.[21] Nicosia was besieged by the troops of Count Roger in 1062 and conquered some years later. The immigration from northern Italy started the following century. As a consequence, the local Sicilian speaking community moved from the upper district built around the church of Santa Maria (hence the nickname 'Mariani' for its inhabitants proposed by La Via 1898) to the lower district built around the church of San Nicolò (whose inhabitants are called 'Nicoleti'; cf. La Via 1898). The new settlers established themselves in the districts of Santa Maria and San Michele. This gave birth to a continuous process of mutual linguistic interference between Mariani and Nicoleti, together with a long lasting rivalry that was still ongoing in the 14th century, as reported by La Via (1898) (cf. Trovato 1998; Menza 2017; 2019). As will be clear in the rest of the paper, their belonging to a given district will be relevant for the two authors considered and their linguistic choices.

3.2 The Origin of the Texts in the Nicosiano Written Corpus

The two authors whose texts make up the corpus were born in Nicosia.[22]

Carmelo La Giglia (1862-1922), son to a blacksmith, was born in the district of San Nicolò and worked as a chemist in Nicosia (cf. Menza 2017, 14). His poetic production was fostered by the linguistic work of Mariano Vincenzo La Via Bonelli (1868-1931), a lawyer, a politician but also an ethnolinguist who established an orthographic system for Nicosiano by means of his phonetics essays and ethnotexts (cf. La Via 1899).

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[21] Of the ten Sicilian Gallo-Italic dialects that Trovato (1998) groups together as those of major linguistic Gallo-Italic nature, the most documented and studied is that of Nicosia. See Menza (2017, 9-10, fn. 2) for a list of references from the earliest works such as De Gregorio (1882-85). See also Trovato and Menza (2020).

[22] The original corpus also comprised three popular short stories collected by Mariano La Via (cf. La Via 1887). We decided not to include them in the analysis because of the difficult attribution of his texts to a specific variety of Nicosiano.

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Sigismondo Castrogiovanni (1933-2007) was born in the district of San Michele and lived in Nicosia as a school teacher until his retirement, when he began running a holiday farm in the Nicosia countryside.

The texts that make up the corpus are taken from the following works: *Tutte le poesie edite* (La Giglia 1975); *I figghi aubedienti (I figli obbedienti), Commedia in tre atti in dialetto nicosiano* by C. La Giglia;[23] *Da l'avocatọ Marianọ La Via quandọ ọ fẹnọ a secọnda vorta deputà* by C. La Giglia;[24] *I veri sassini* by C. La Giglia;[25] The manuscripts of the unpublished fairy tales and short stories by C. La Giglia (cf. Menza 2017, 25); The manuscripts of the unpublished poems by C. La Giglia; *Favole e racconti nel dialetto galloitalico nicosiano* (La Giglia 1976); *Tutte le poesie inedite* (La Giglia 1984); *Sovəprasgẹssọ! Poesie nel dialetto galloitalico di Nicosia* (Castrogiovanni 1995); *A Passiön. La passione di nostro Signore* (Castrogiovanni 2004);[26] *De na nada a l àuta* by S. Castrogiovanni.[27]

The difference in the district of origin between the contributors to our corpus, i.e. La Giglia (who comes from the Sicilian speaking district of San Nicolò) and Castrogiovanni (who comes from the Gallo-Italic speaking district of San Michele), will be taken into account in analysing the data.

3.3 The Encoding of the Corpus

The corpus is made of 235 texts from the two Nicosiano authors described in Section 3.2. A total of 1227 observations of either AI-Co, synthetic future or modal MUST were collected and manually tagged.[28] For each observation, the following variables, and the related levels, were encoded:

- **Author**: La Giglia, Castrogiovanni;
- **Text**: the title of the text (whether a poetry in a collection, a short story, a novel chapter, or the section of a theatre script) the occurrence is taken from;

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[23] This is an unpublished autograph manuscript preserved in the Municipal Library of Nicosia (cf. Menza 2017, 24).

[24] This is the unpublished autograph manuscript of a comic sketch in Nicosiano verses (cf. Menza 2017, 25).

[25] This is an unpublished autograph manuscript which is the first version of *A guerra (la guerra). Versi in dialetto nicosiano*, included in La Giglia (1975) (cf. Menza 2017, 25).

[26] This is a verse drama of just under 70 pages with a parallel Italian translation.

[27] This is an unpublished novel-ethnotext, consisting of 413 typed pages in Nicosiano, which describes life on the farm in Nicosia (cf. Menza 2017, 97).

[28] The occurrences of conditional forms were not considered.

- **Type**: AICo, synthetic future, or modal MUST;
- **Semantics**: the semantic function taken on by the relevant construction (i.e., deontic, epistemic, optative, future);
- **Mood**: the Mood functional HAVE in the AICo, the synthetic future verb, or modal MUST is inflected for;
- **Tense**: the Tense functional HAVE in the AICo, the synthetic future verb, or modal MUST is inflected for;
- **Person**: the combination of grammatical Person and Number of the subject in the relevant construction (i.e., 1SG, 2SG, 3SG, 1PL, 2PL, 3PL);
- **V2**: the lexical entry of the second verb of the construction (if present);[29]
- **V3**: the lexical entry of the third verb of the construction (if present);
- **Climbing**: whether Clitic Climbing of an accusative or oblique pronoun occurred or not;
- **Connect**: the form the connecting element appears in (a, da, d-, -d-, d+a, d+da) or lack thereof (reported as "no" in Table 3).[30]

4 Data and Discussion

Of the 1227 observations collected, those featuring the AICo amount to 1089, whereas the occurrences of synthetic future and modal MUST are 118 and 20, respectively (see Table 1).

Table 1 Number of the occurrences of the structures considered by author

	Texts	AICo	Future	MUST
La Giglia	83	390	76	17
Castrogiovanni	154	699	42	3
TOT.	237	1089	118	20

Table 2 shows the distribution of the semantic functions of each construction. Note that it was not always easy to identify a purely future tense function in the AICo, since it started out as a deontic de-obligative construction.

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[29] It is always indicated in the AICo and modal MUST. It was coded as a "no" for the synthetic future forms in simple tenses.

[30] This only applies to the AICo.

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Table 2 Number of the occurrences of the structures considered by semantic feature

	Deontic	**Epistemic**	Future	Optative
La Giglia				
Aico	330	37	4	19
Future	-	21	51	4
Must	17	-	-	-
Castrogiovanni				
Aico	644	45	6	4
Future	-	22	17	3
Must	3	-	-	-
TOT.	**994**	**125**	**78**	**30**

Let us now take a closer look at what happens inside the AICo. Table 3 shows the distribution of the different configurations of AICo described in Section 2.3 as found in the two authors considered.

Table 3 Number of occurrences of the different AICo configurations by author

	da	a	d-	-d-	d+a	d+da	no	TOT.
La Giglia	217	127	39	1	2	-	4	390
Castrogiovanni	11	4	562	-	117	2	3	699
TOT.	228	131	601	1	119	2	7	1089

4.1 Some Considerations on the d- and -d- Configurations

Let us start by considering the d- configuration in the two contributors. La Giglia and Castrogiovanni display an opposite behaviour in selecting their connectors (see Table 3). La Giglia prefers the more canonical V1+connector+V2 configurations 49.2% of the time (*da* 31%; *a* 18.2%) and resorts to d- less frequently (10%). On the contrary, Castrogiovanni selects a [d] form 97.4% of the time (d- 80.4%; d+a 16.7%; d+da 0.3%). This fact comes as no surprise if we consider that the displacement of the [d] element is a typical Gallo-Italic innovation in the AICo (see Section 2.3; cf. Castiglione and Menza 2024) and, thus, it is more frequent in the author from the Gallo-Italic district of San Michele.

As regards the -d- forms of HAVE in the AICo (i.e. *adavì* PRS.2PL, *àdemö* PRS.1PL, *àdenö* PRS.3PL, and *avìdenö* IMPF.3PL), only 1 occurrence has been found in the corpus (in a text by La Giglia). In this case, however, it should be noted that 7 more occurrences of -d- AICo were found in the three short stories collected by La Via (cf. fn. 23). Although the origin of those texts remains uncertain, this fact

should be taken into account, as La Via and La Giglia were coeval. In fact, there is no trace of the -d- configuration in Castrogiovanni, who is the most recent author, as he died in 2007. This may signal a more recent tendency for the AICo to align to the Sicilian configurations or, at least, to avoid the most extreme, i.e. non productive, forms. Moreover, 5 out of the 8 occurrences of -d- AICo (in the two relevant authors combined) feature *fè* 'do/make' as V2 (used either as a lexical verb or as a light verb followed by different V3s), which may indicate a sort of lexicalisation of the combination -d- HAVE + *fè*.

4.2   On the Synthetic Future Forms

Only 118 occurrences of synthetic future forms were found in the corpus (see Table 1), 36.4% of which display an epistemic function, as shown in (10).

(10) a. Sareranö   i   diàvölë   -   pensanö   tutë.
         be.FUT.3PL   the   devils   think.PST.3PL   all.PL
         'It must be the devils – everybody thought.' [Castrogiovanni; *A ntëna*][1]

      b. Se   maridà   Töfàniö,   avrà
         REFL   get-married.PST.3SG   Töfàniö,   have.FUT.3SG
         corcö   döö   anë…
         some   two   years
         'Töfàniö got married, it must have been about two years ago…'
         [La Giglia; *Ö sfasölà*]

[1] The information provided into square brackets are, respectively, the author and the work the occurrences belong to.

This is in line with the trend shown in the literature discussed in Section 2, according to which the AICo has progressively taken on the functions of the synthetic future. Moreover, Castrogiovanni, the author with the most recent contributions to the corpus, resorts to the synthetic future less frequently than La Giglia (35.6% vs. 64.4%). A further possible contribution to justifying the treatment of the synthetic future as a relic of the past in Nicosiano is given by the presence or the absence of Clitic Climbing. Table 4 clearly shows that this restructuring phenomenon rarely occurs with the synthetic future in any of its functions. Cf. (11) for some of the few occurrences found in the corpus:

(11) a. Comö   döö   palömbëtë   ve   starerì   ocantö.
         Like   two   little-doves each-other be.FUT.2PL   beside
         'You will be together like two lovebirds.' [La Giglia; *Dê zzitë*]

b.	Se	tu	poi	bestentare,	te	ne
	if	you	can.PRS.2SG	wait.INF	you	NE
	verrai		cö	mia.		
	come.FUT.2SG		with	me		

'If you can wait, you'll come with me.' [La Giglia; *A Mèreca*]

Table 4 Number of Clitic Climbing occurrences by semantic function of the synthetic future

	Future	Epistemic	Optative
Clitic Climbing	16 (23.53%)	5 (11.63%)	3 (42.86%)
No Clitic Cl.[1]	52 (76.47%)	38 (88.37%)	4 (57.14%)
TOT.	68 (100%)	43 (100%)	7 (100%)

1 The label "No Clitic Climbing" means that no clitic pronoun is present in the given occurrence. In the corpus, whenever a clitic pronoun is found, it is always procliticised onto the syntetic future form.

Unsurprisingly, 21 of the 24 occurrences of Clitic Climbing with a synthetic future form are found in the texts by La Giglia, i.e. the author from the Sicilian district of San Nicolò.

4.3 On Modal MUST

The contribution of modal MUST to the 1227 observations in the corpus is minimal, with only 20 occurrences (1.6%) in total (La Giglia: 17; Castrogiovanni: 3), as shown in Table 1. The overall low number of occurrences of modal MUST may be evidence that the contact-induced change caused by Sicilian regarding the replacement of Gallo-Italic MUST in favour of the deontic and epistemic AICo was already almost completed when La Giglia wrote his works.

Interestingly, most occurrences of this verb in the corpus are confined to non-indicative contexts, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5 Number of occurrences of modal MUST by mood and tense

	Present	Imperfect	Past	Pluperfect
Conditional	3	//	1	//
Gerund	1	//	-	//
Indicative	1	2	1	-
Subjunctive	-	9	-	2

The most recurring form is that of imperfect subjunctive *avëssö dövùitö* 'should have' + V3.PPT (5 occurrences), as shown in (13), to which an occurrence of past conditional *averia dövùitö* 'should have' + V3.PPT adds. This could once again hint at a sort of lexicalisation of the construction.

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(13) a. Ma   nen   m'   ö   credia   ca   ia   v'
          but NEG   to-me   it   believe.IMPF.1SG   that I   you.PL
          avëssö   dövùitö   stampè.
          have.SBJ.IMPF.1SG   must.PPT   print.INF
          'But I didn't believe that I would have to publish you.' [La Giglia; *Dê mièë verscë*]

      b. Ö   savia   che   pe   dda   sëira   n'
          it   know.IMPF.3SG   that for that.F   night   NE
          avëssö   dövùitö   ndè   dëö   defuora.
          have.SBJ.IMPF.3SG   must.PPT   go.INF   he   outside
          'He knew that, for that very night, he himself would have to go outside.' [Castrogiovanni; *Il pranzo dopo ö scröntö*]

5   Conclusions

The analysis of the written corpus of the Gallo-Italic dialect of Nicosia proposed in this paper has clearly shown how the AICo, i.e., the Sicilian multipurpose HAVE periphrasis, has almost completely replaced the competing constructions (i.e., the synthetic future and modal MUST) in the different semantic functions, starting from the deontic one. This reinforces the idea that Nicosiano follows the general trend of Sicilian Gallo-Italic to display Sicilian traits in syntax (cf. Trovato 1998; Trovato and Menza 2020; De Angelis 2023). More in detail:

- The deontic and epistemic functions of modal MUST are almost completely taken on by the AICo and are generally limited to non-indicative constructions;
- The synthetic future forms are rather scarce;
- There seems to be a difference in the linguistic choices of the two authors considered (i.e., La Giglia and Castrogiovanni) according to their district of origin, respectively San Nicolò and San Michele.

Moreover, in order to assess whether modal MUST and the syntactic future have been definitely replaced by the multipurpose AICo in Nicosiano, we leave to future research the possibility to expanding the corpus analysed in the present contribution. This expansion would involve those recent literary works, either original poetry, theatre plays, or translations of famous novels, that have been fostered by Trovato's (2003) simplification of Nicosiano orthography.[31]

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[31] Cf. Menza (2023, 8-9) for an up-to-date overview of all the available written texts in Nicosiano.

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Students' Perception of Teaching English Linguistics at University Level
A Case Study

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Abstract   This paper presents a case study on the teaching of a 30-hour module of English Linguistics for two courses in the first-cycle degree program in Modern Cultures and Languages. Data gathered through students' evaluation forms have been contradictory: the module scored high as far as students' satisfaction was concerned but it scored low regarding interest. This paper shows how students' feedback has helped us introduce changes. These are illustrated in the main part of this paper. They engage with pedagogical knowledge, methodologies and practices, as well as linguistic approaches specifically chosen to unpack the potential of the content of the module, improving students' language awareness and language skills.

Keywords   Critical language studies. Language awareness. Language teacher education. Participants. Systemic functional grammar.

Summary   1 Introduction. – 2 The Content: Reasons and Issues. – 3 Context and Data. – 4 Re-framing the Teaching of Content Knowledge: Reflections and Directions. – 5 The Case Study: Teaching the Representation of Event Participants. – 5.1 Re-framing Content: Explaining Event Participants. – 5.2 Group Work: Aurora on a Cline. – 6 Concluding Remarks: Some Ways Forward.

1 Introduction

The focus of this paper is a case study relating to the teaching of two 30-hour modules of English Linguistics in the second year of the first-cycle degree programs in Modern Cultures and Languages (*Classe di laurea Miur L-11*): *Lingue e Letterature Straniere* (henceforth LLS) and *Lingue, Mercati e Culture dell'Asia e dell'Africa Mediterranea* (henceforth LMCAAM) from a.y. 2017-18 to a.y. 2021-22. The university's official evaluation forms showed that this module persistently scored low for students' interest. Further, qualitative analysis of these evaluations and students' feedback pointed to a common problematic perception of the content of the module that was seen as difficult, abstract and unrelated to language learning. This feedback was perplexing, as this module's content focused on Systemic Functional Grammar (henceforth SFG), a model that was chosen precisely to provide a practical and down-to-earth approach to language in use, rather than abstract linguistic theories. Indeed, Halliday's SFG is often cited as a cornerstone for Communicative Language Teaching (Cf. Brumfit, Johnson 1979; Melrose 1995; Richards, Rodgers 2001), as well as being the theory underpinning Critical Language Studies approaches (Cf. Fairclough 2013, 8). While as scholars we were reassured that our choice had solid scientific foundations, at the same time, as teachers, we felt we could not ignore criticism that persistently showed a lack of understanding of our very aims and goals. This article shows how we addressed this issue, in particular how the students' feedback and information we gathered on their educational curricula helped us change the content of the module in an attempt to meet their criticism and make improvements.[1]

In section 2, we outline the original content of the Linguistics module and the reasons that led to its adoption. Section 3 provides details of students' negative and positive feedback taken from the official course evaluation forms. Data and observations on the process of language learning from high school to the first year of university are also provided in an attempt to find some underlying causes for students' criticism. Section 4 is the central part of this study. Preliminary reflections illustrate how students' negative and positive feedback informed the changes that were implemented. These concern content as well as teaching methodologies. In particular, we engaged with a selection of pedagogical knowledge methodologies and practices as well as language theories that could help us clarify

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and unpack the potential of the SFG model. In section 5, we present a case study that focuses attention on how we explained a specific topic to the classes in a way that, following students' feedback, integrated theory and practice. The conclusive section briefly outlines future plans for further improvements.

2 The Content: Reasons and Issues

When Linguistics modules were introduced, colleagues in English collectively decided to adopt M.A.K. Halliday's model of SFG in all three years of the BA degree. What was attractive about this model were the following characteristics:

- Functional Grammar "is essentially a 'natural' grammar, in the sense that everything in it can be explained [...] by reference to how language is used" (Halliday 1994, xiii). For this reason, we thought this model was well suited to a course that also included practical language learning;
- Functional Grammar is a holistic and complete approach that considers all meaningful strata of language from morphemes to texts as well as context. It provides a lexico-grammatical approach that also includes elements of pragmatics. We thought this was particularly suited to meet the official requirements for Linguistics modules at university level set by the Ministry of Education in 2000 (see section 3);
- its compartmentalized structure made it possible to distribute content across the three-year degree. According to Halliday (1994, 33), language is organized around three lines of meanings also called metafunctions: the ideational and experiential metafunction used to understand language in the environment; the interpersonal metafunction that focuses on who is taking part in the language exchange, and the textual metafunction that considers how meanings are organized in a message.

After a transitional period, it was decided that the second-year curriculum was going to focus on the following metafunctions and topics:

- grammatical metaphors across the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions (Thompson 2014, 233-54);
- the experiential metafunction with reference to the lexicogrammar of transitivity (Thompson 2014, 91-114; 117-44);
- the interpersonal metafunction with reference to the lexicogrammar of modality and appraisal (Thompson 2014, 70-86).

The focus on metafunctions was seen as showing students that the three-year curriculum was both structured and interconnected. A

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schematic illustration of the SFG model that we prepared especially for the students' benefit was adopted by all teachers across the three years to constantly remind students of the pivotal role of metafunctions in bridging context of situation and lexico-grammar, reinforcing the message that the grammatical approach adopted was firmly set in real contexts of use [fig. 1]. This message was also supported by the two textbooks that were adopted as main readings: initially *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* by M.A.K. Halliday in its second edition (1994), later replaced by Geoff Thompson's *Introducing Functional Grammar* in its third edition (2014). The connection we aimed to communicate to our students is highlighted in the initial chapter of Thompson's book entitled "The Purposes of Linguistics Analysis" (2014), where the author notes that the SFG model is based on a close connection between form, meaning and context (11).
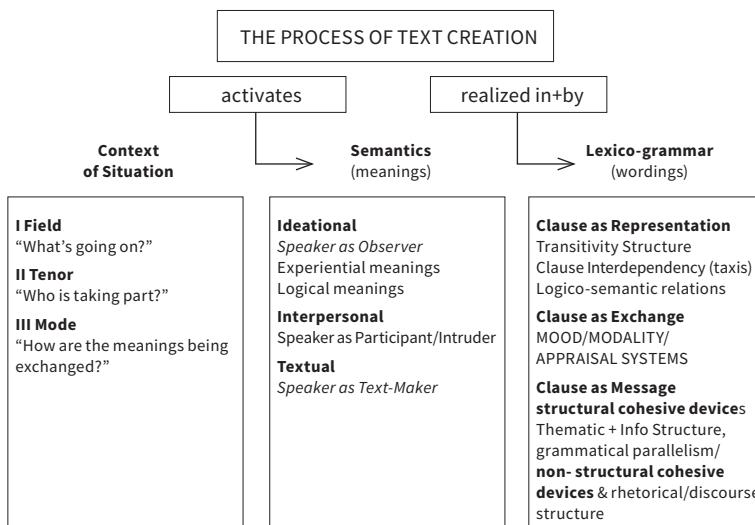

Figure 1   The process of text creation (Miller 2021, 40)

Our efforts to show the potential of the SFG model for providing an approach to grammar rooted in contexts of situation and of use were only partially successful, as will be shown in detail in the next section.

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3   Context and Data

In this section, we look closely at persistent negative feedback from second-year students recorded from a.y. 2017-18 to a.y. 2021-22. In the attempt to contextualize this feedback and find some of its underlying causes, this section reflects on the way the relatively recent inclusion of the teaching of the linguistics of foreign languages at university impacted on high school and university students. These reflections are integrated by data obtained through an *ad hoc* questionnaire for high school students enrolled in their fourth year.

The introduction of a module on the Linguistics of foreign languages in Italian university curricula is relatively recent; it dates back to the beginning of 2000, following the reorganization of disciplinary fields.[2] Prior to this, in Language and Literature Departments, foreign language teaching was a part of foreign literature courses; these were practically-oriented *lettorati* taught by mother-tongue language teachers. Following the above-mentioned re-organization, the literature component turned into an independent course, and the *lettorati* – re-named *esercitazioni* – became part of courses that also included a module in Linguistics of the foreign language taught by Lecturers and Professors of Language and Translation. This effectively marked the beginning of foreign language learning as independent from literature.

The introduction of the Linguistics module affected students' transition from high school to university; not only did university students have no previous background in linguistics, but the introduction of linguistics of foreign languages demanded that they adapted to a new way of learning a second language. At school students associated language learning with the acquisition of language skills; the introduction of linguistics of foreign languages had the effect of adding to these also metalinguistic skills. In particular, as far as the English language is concerned, Linguistics modules were meant to encompass

> the metalinguistic analysis of English language in its synchronic and diachronic dimensions, its phonetic, morphological, syntactic, lexical, textual and pragmatic structures, as well as different levels of register of oral and written communication.[3]

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[2] See Atti Ministeriali, Anno 1999, Dicembre, DM 23121999, `https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/eli/gu/1999/03/15/61/so/55/sg/pdf`.

[3] `https://www.gazzettaufficiale.it/atto/serie_generale/caricaArticolo?art.versione=1&art.idGruppo=0&art.flagTipoArticolo=2&art.codiceRedazionale=00A13012&art.idArticolo=1&art.idSottoArticolo=1&art.idSottoArticolo1=10&art.dataPubblicazioneGazzetta=2000-10-24`. The translation is mine.

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In order to obtain data to document this transition, a survey was devised as part of a PCTO (*Percorso per le Competenze Trasversali e l'Orientamento*) activity and submitted to a group of high school students enrolled in the fourth year of a *Liceo Classico*.[4] The survey contained yes and no as well as open questions targeting students' knowledge of specialized terminology connected with the afore-mentioned ministerial specifications. Results showed that of the 33 students who participated in the survey, 81.2% did not know what metalanguage meant and 18.2% were not sure about it. Asked to provide a short definition or, alternatively, an example of metalanguage, only one participant provided an answer, which was wrong. The majority of students – more than 87.9% – declared that they knew the meaning of phonetic, morphological and syntactical structures, while only 66.7% knew about pragmatic structures. This survey confirmed that at the end of high school, students had no knowledge of metalinguistic analysis and only a partial knowledge of specialized linguistics terminology that they acquired in connection with the process of learning practical language skills and grammatical structures.

Moving closer to the focus of this study, what emerged from second-year university students' official evaluation forms from a.y. 2017-18 to a.y. 2021-22 was overall positive feedback, but persistent negative results concerning interest in the content of the Linguistics module. Table 1 reproduces selected data of students' evaluation.[5]

The table [tab 1] shows that students' criticism concentrated on Q. 11, where results consistently remained lower than those targeting other aspects of the module. Furthermore, as shown in Table 2 below, Q. 11 results were also comparatively low in relation to courses in the same degree program and School. Differences oscillated from -42.9% in LLS in a.y. 2017-18 to -5.2 % in LMCAAM in a.y. 2021-22. Feedback obtained through personal communications from colleagues teaching linguistics of other European languages in the same School confirmed that persistent low interest was a peculiar feature of the English modules.

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[4]   The survey involved students in Liceo Classico *Dante Alighieri* in Ravenna and was conducted between April and May 2022 using Google Forms. Results can be found at `https://docs.google.com/forms/d/1aunnzEOIchujDdK1dJ4NZvpPhqTIFS6zJ9SZsoq 63pI/edit`. The PCTO was organized in connection with this research project to gather further data and information on students' transition from high school to university.

[5]   Evaluation forms in a.y. 2019-20 were not included as this was an exceptional year due to the disruptions caused by the Covid pandemic.

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Table 1 Students' ratings of two English Linguistics modules in two degree programs: Lingue, Mercati e Culture dell'Asia e dell'Africa Mediterranea (LMCAAM) and Lingue e Letterature Straniere (LLS)

	Q. 3: Quality of material provided	Q. 7: Teacher's style as regards their capacity to convey information in a clear way	Q. 11: Students' interest	Q. 12: Students' overall satisfaction
a.y. 2021-22				
LMCAAM	95.2%	90.5%	81%	100%
LLS	86.4%	72.7%	63.6%	72.7%
a.y. 2020-21				
LMCAAM	100%	100%	79.2%	95.8%
LLS	92.9%	78.6%	60.7%	70.4%
a.y. 2018-19				
LMCAAM	100%	100%	70%	100%
LLS	91%	82.2%	65.9%	82.2%
a.y. 2017-18				
LMCAAM	100%	91.7%	66.7%	100%
LLS	95.5%	95.5%	45.5%	77.3%

Table 2 Comparison of results of Q. 11 recording students' interest across the same degree program or School

	Q. 11: Students' interest	Q. 11: Students' interest
a.y. 2021-22	English linguistics	Degree Program
LMCAAM	81%	86.2%
LLS	63.6%	89.5%
a.y. 2020-21	English linguistics	Degree Program
LMCAAM	79.2%	90.6%
LLS	60.7%	90.8%
a.y. 2018-19	English linguistics	School
LMCAAM	70%	87.8%
LLS	65.9%	87.8%
a.y. 2017-18	English linguistics	School
LMCAAM	66.7%	88.4%
LLS	45.5%	88.4%

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To shed further light on the issue of students' interest, we exploited qualitative data, consisting in anonymous comments taken from the official evaluation forms. The comment section in these forms is made up of five open questions, and it is not compulsory for students to answer any of these. Unfortunately, despite teachers' encouragement, only a small number of students provided answers. Out of a total of 203 evaluation forms received in the period taken into consideration, only 118 were filled in, most of them only partially. In line with the aim of this study, we focused on comments about the content of the module and/or its components (henceforth these comments will be referred to with the term Appreciation).[6]

In an attempt to investigate the persistent lack of interest, we focused our attention on those sequences that contained the lemma *interessant**. In contrast to quantitative results, the majority of comments were positive; more precisely, we counted 15 instances of positive Appreciation, 2 negative ones and 1 comparatively positive. This does not mean that comments were almost unanimously positive; indeed expressions of negative Appreciation often did not explicitly mention the lemma *interessant**.

The most articulate expressions of positive Appreciations that referred to the module as a whole included the following: "*Trovo che la Functional Grammar sia molto interessante e utile nel contesto comunicativo*" (I think that Functional Grammar is very interesting in the communicative context); "*Il corso si presenta veramente interessante e dà degli stimoli anche per una visione diversa della realtà e della comunicazione tra persone*" (The course is really interesting and provides the impetus to gain a different vision of reality and of communication); "*Interessante il tentativo di far apprezzare agli studenti il collegamento tra modo in cui si scrive in inglese e il tipo di effetto che viene creato*" (The attempt to have students appreciate the connection between the way you write in English and the effect that this writing produces is interesting). Instances of positive Appreciations also referred to specific parts of the module, as in the following cases: "*Il film 12 Angry Men [...] è stato molto interessante*" (The movie 12 *Angry Men* [...] was very interesting); "*Fornire esempi e lavorare su testi letterari è molto interessante*" (Providing examples and working with literary texts is very interesting).

As instances of negative Appreciations did not include explicit mentions of the lemma *interessant** these had to be searched manually. What follows are the most articulate examples: "*Non è una materia molto utile per apprendere l'inglese secondo me, ed è piuttosto*

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[6] We have borrowed the term 'Appreciation' from Martin, White 2005. For an illustration of its meaning and the Appraisal System, see `https://www.grammatics.com/appraisal/`.

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un riempitivo" (It is not very useful to learn English, in my view, it is irrelevant); "*La materia risulta tra le meno interessanti e [...] tra le meno pratiche*" (This module is amongst the least interesting and the least practical-oriented); "*Penso che il problema principale sia la difficoltà nel capire in modo concreto di cosa si stia parlando*" (I think the main problem is that it is difficult to concretely understand what this module is about).

To sum up, as far as quantitative data is concerned, an unusually high percentage of students reported low interest, while at the same time they appreciated the course material, the teacher's style of delivery and overall felt positive about the module. Qualitative results on the issue of interest in the forms of students' comments yielded scant results that were mostly positive, suggesting that most students were not able, or not willing, to articulate the reasons for their lack of interest. Positive Appreciations consistently made connections between the module content, context of language use and communication, as well as mentioning exercises and examples as particularly useful.

Negative Appreciations found the content of the module unclear, difficult, excessively abstract, pointless, and unrelated to language learning. Negative comments showed an underlying misunderstanding between teachers and students that led to a paradox: on the one hand, teachers adopted the SFG approach as an alternative to more theory-oriented grammatical models in order to provide knowledge that is relevant for language in use and language learning; on the other, students' lack of interest was caused precisely by what teachers endeavored to avoid.

Given this scant feedback, it was difficult to find reasons for this paradox. However, consideration of data and reflections on students' transition from high school to university reported at the beginning of this section point to lack of adequate preparation and of background information concerning metalanguage as the main reason for students' lack of interest and their inability to explain it. As noted previously, when enrolling at university, students have studied English without having been introduced to metalanguage. Moreover, as shown in the course specifications of first-year language courses in our degree program, Linguistics modules of European languages other than English covered selected aspects of grammar without explicitly framing them as metalinguistic reflections. Therefore, at the end of the first year, the concept of metalanguage may have been referred to implicitly or explicitly in passing only in courses of general linguistics and at the beginning of the module of English Linguistics, when SFG was illustrated as an alternative to formal grammatical approaches. Consequently, when they began their second year, students were far from having had enough time or information to gain a deep and solid understanding of the importance of metalinguistic

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approaches and were ill prepared to understand a model that had the concept of metafunctions as its core component.

In addition to presuming that a lack of adequate preparation and background information was the main reason for students' lack of interest, it should also be noted that students' awareness of language and/in context emerged as the main reason for positive comments. This showed that development of language awareness was central to raising interest in our Linguistics module, besides being connected, as is well known, with improvement of foreign language learning.[7]

4 Re-framing the Teaching of Content Knowledge: Reflections and Directions

These preliminary data, reflections, and hypotheses shaped changes that have been gradually implemented in the last five years. These changes sought to introduce ways to improve the accessibility of the module content in order to unpack and clarify linguistic knowledge that we used to take for granted but remained sketchy and unclear to most students. To implement these changes, it became necessary to step out of our comfort zone and engage with pedagogical knowledge, methodologies and practices, as well as linguistic approaches other than SFG.

With regard to pedagogical studies, contributions in the field of Language Teacher Education (henceforth LTE) that connect language awareness and metalinguistic awareness to the acquisition and development of content knowledge (Wright 2002, 113; see also Andrews 1997, 2001) were particularly helpful. Amongst these, pedagogical content knowledge was particularly useful as it provided ways to restructure and integrate the module without introducing new material. This approach has been defined as

> a special form of professional understanding unique to teachers and combines knowledge of the content to be taught with knowledge of what students know or think they know about this content and knowledge of how the content can be represented to the students [...] in ways that is most likely to be effective in helping them to attain the intended outcomes of instructions. (Brophy in Andrews 1997, 148)

Following this approach, we considered what students already knew about the SFG model, and, more generally, about linguistics and

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7 James, Garrett 1991; Andrews 1997; Fairclough 2013, 13-14; Svalberg 2007, 288; Farías 2004, 213.

metalinguistic approaches, as well as shared non-specialized and axiomatic knowledge of language based on experience. This background knowledge was used to construct a brief introduction to the module content and to restructure explanations of theory.

Regarding the employment of language approaches other than SFG, elements of Critical Language Studies (henceforth CLS) were introduced in the module. Following Fairclough (2013, 2), CLS encompass what is also referred to as Critical Linguistics, or Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA), indicating not a theory but rather "one contributory element in research on social practice" (Chouliaraki, Fairclough 1999, 16). CLS played a central role in our restructuring for two reasons: firstly, they are the basis for the development of Critical Language Awareness (Fairclough 2013, 2); secondly, as noted by Clarence-Fincham (2000, 25), CDA complements SFG and contributes to highlight that SFG provides insights into the social dimension of language: "CDA provides the critical and ideological dimension to the analysis of texts, Halliday's SFG complements the critical perspective, providing linguists with fine-tuned insights into the social nature and function of particular linguistics systems".

After these preliminary reflections, we decided to implement changes through top-down and bottom-up approaches.

Our top-down approach was designed to provide immediate and convincing answers to students' criticism on the irrelevance of metalinguistic analysis. Following the pedagogical content knowledge method illustrated above, we exploited knowledge students had already acquired. This approach comprised two strategies that were both implemented at the beginning of the module.

The first strategy was meant to make students reflect on the ways in which language conveys meanings. We used a narrative that exploited knowledge of semiology and structuralism (though these linguistic approaches were never explicitly mentioned) that students acquired from courses in general linguistics. We began this narrative by recalling Saussure's concept of sign:

> words are not symbols which correspond to referents, but rather are 'signs' which are made up of two parts [...] a mark, either written or spoken, called a 'signifier', and a concept (what is 'thought' when the mark is made) called a 'signified'. (Selden, Widdowson 1993, 104)

Then, by means of examples, we introduced C.S. Pierce's distinction of three types of signs:

> [...] the 'iconic' (where the sign *resembles* its referent [...] e.g. the picture of a ship [...]); the indexical [...] (where the sign is *associated* [...] with its referent [...] e.g. smoke as a sign of fire); and the

'symbolic' (where the sign has an *arbitrary* relation to its referent, e.g. language). (Selden, Widdowson 1993, 105)

Drawing attention to the symbolic relation between sign and its referent via Saussure and Pierce alerted students to the nature of language as a construct and the consequent need to understand how it works. By referring to language as a construct, we also challenged the idea of language as neutral and foregrounded one of the foundational principles of discourse (cf. Fairclough, Wodak 1997), preparing students for the need to develop Critical Language Awareness.

As our second strategy, we took a critical appraisal of the concept of the arbitrariness of language, providing instead a view of language as a social construct. To this end we used some of Halliday's foundational definitions of the functions of language: "Language has evolved to satisfy human needs; and the way it is organized is functional with respect to these needs – it is not arbitrary" (1994, xiii) and "language is as it is because of the functions it has evolved to serve in people's lives" (1978, 4). These down-to-earth, logical, and effective formulas were meant to contrast students' prejudice about the SFG model as abstract. After that, following Halliday's method, "we […] proceed[ed] from the outside inwards, interpreting language by reference to its place in the social process" (1978, 4). Using Figure 1 in section 2, we guided students through easy examples of connections between familiar contexts of situation, metafunctions and their lexico-grammar.[8]

Where the top-down approach was meant to set up a dialogue with students and dispel criticism, bottom-up approaches exploited students' positive comments and used practical activities to support course content knowledge. As noted in section 3, students commented positively on the recent implementation of activities and the introduction of examples for providing simple and clear explanations grounded in real life contexts. Bottom-up approaches were used at various points in the module. Depending on the class group and on the topics, they might serve to round up explanations, or, if a topic was repeatedly perceived as particularly difficult, they were used to introduce it. Practical activities included teacher-led activities, and more often group works. Group work was favored by teachers for the positive effects it has on developing language learning, and Language Awareness. As already noted in empirical studies in LTE:

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[8]   At this early stage, we took the class experience as context of situation and we asked students to answer simple questions that exemplified the three metafunctions: "What is going on in the class?"; "Who is involved in the class experience?"; "How are meanings exchanged?".

a. group work is inductive and discovery-oriented and hence it stimulates Language Awareness (Wright 2002, 115);

b. during group work students are asked to communicate only in English to support "the process of appropriation" of the language (Tocalli-Beller, Swain 2005, 8) and, in our specific case, also appropriation of metalanguage with beneficial effects on both the language and linguistics components of the course;

c. during group work, students participate actively and cooperate with other members of the group in order to encourage interaction and engagement that, in turn, make explicit the way language works (Borg 1994, 290), at the same time stimulating awareness.

In our module, group work focused on analyses of texts set in specific contexts, as these were particularly suitable for practicing SFG theories (Thompson 2014, 221), while also supporting and integrating content knowledge and stimulating Critical Language Awareness.

5 The Case Study: Teaching the Representation of Event Participants

This section is divided into two parts: the first one focuses on the delivery of content relating to event participants as part of the system of transitivity; in the second one, we describe a group work activity that was meant to support and practice this knowledge.

Event participants are one element of the transitivity analysis. They are "participants in the process" (Halliday 1994, 107) logically and functionally connected to the lexical verb. For this reason, they are labelled in relation to the kind of action indicated by the lexical verb.

5.1 Re-framing Content: Explaining Event Participants

Based on the evaluation forms, transitivity was the topic most frequently mentioned as the one that students understood better, the reason being that it was introduced in the first year. This provided confirmation of the benefits of the cyclical-spiral structure of the degree programme, which facilitated the revision, development and reinforcement of knowledge.

To explain event participants in practical terms, we drew on Hasan's (1989) work on the poem *The Widower* by Les Murray. First, we used Hasan's binary distinction between -er and -ed roles, which considers participants according to their active and passive roles, or,

to borrow Hasan's expression, according to their "effectuality – or dynamism – as the quality of being able to affect the world around us" (45). After this, students were presented with Hasan's representation of the cline of dynamism [fig. 2].

DYNAMIC

1		(Actor + Animate Goal)	John took Harry to London
2		(Actor + Inanimate Goal)	John took the books with him
3		(Sayer + Recipien)	John told Harry . . .
4		(Sayer + Target)	John praised the system
5		(Sayer)	John talked
6		(Phenomenon + Senser)	John/the picture attracted her
7		(Senser)	John recognised the house
			Mary was attracted by i/him
8		(Actor — Goal)	John went away
9		(Behaver)	John woke up
10		(Carrier)	John was sleepy
11		(Goal/Target. . .)	John took Harry with him
12		(Range)	I watched the house
13		(Circumstance/. . .)	I have a sister

PASSIVE

Figure 2 Cline of dynamism and *The Widower* (Hasan 1989, 46)

Hasan's cline is based on the reasoning that participants' effectuality can be represented on a continuum between the poles of dynamic and passive. After Hasan (1989, 46), we took 7 as the half-way point of the cline and defined 1 to 7 as more dynamic and 8 to 13 as more passive. Hasan's way of representing participants interestingly connects SFG with Critical Discourse Analysis because it offers a representation of participants that is power bearing (Fiske 1994, 3): the more dynamic a participant, the more powerful, the less dynamic, the more powerless. In order to make this connection clearer and more memorable for students we referred to Hasan's "cline of dynamism" as "cline of power". This way, students understood event participants not only as grammatical labels, but also as representations of social entities that act or are acted upon. Hasan's cline of dynamism was used to structure the group work that is illustrated in the following section.

5.2 Group Work: Aurora on a Cline

This group work was used in the second-year module to round up the explanation of Transitivity. A slightly adapted version of this was also used during the above-mentioned PCTO (see section 3).

5.2.1 Aims of Group Work and Description of Texts

The aims of this group work were:
- test students' knowledge of types of processes and participants;
- stimulate awareness of participants as representations of social entities;
- demonstrate how participants are shaped and, at the same time, contribute to shape the context in which the texts were produced;
- provide an example of Halliday's theory of meaning as choice (1994, xiv).

The texts chosen are a description of the plot of Charles Perrault's famous fairy tale *The Sleeping Beauty* adapted from `https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sleeping_Beauty` and a synopsis of the Walt Disney movie *Maleficent* (2004) adapted from `https://m.imdb.com/title/tt1587310/plotsummary/`, one of the fairy tale's most recent reinterpretation. This group work provided an example of the way SFG and CDA complement each other. The story of *The Sleeping Beauty* is ideal for a CDA analysis for being a classic fairy tale that over the centuries has fed a powerful message to young girls about their role in society, a message that the movie deconstructs through the empowerment of the female protagonists. Both texts were introduced to students with reference to the context in which they were produced and received. At this stage, rather than providing information, we decided to elicit students' knowledge to encourage active participation and collect information for our pedagogical content knowledge methodology. We found that we could rely on a good amount of knowledge that students already had. Our hypothesis that all students were familiar with this fairy tale was confirmed and those who had not yet watched the movie were happy to do so and enjoyed it. We also found out from colleagues teaching English literature in the same year that we could rely on students knowing the concept of re-writing, or "writing back" (Ashcroft et al. 1989) from discussions on postcolonial and feminist fiction. In same way contemporary postcolonial and feminist fiction deconstruct canonical texts by questioning and undermining widely accepted power structures, so the movie can be seen as deconstructing the deep-set myth of the beautiful but passive heroine of the fairy tale.

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5.2.2   Preparation

An electronic hand out providing a guided analysis was uploaded on the module learning platform. This included:

- both texts, annotated, where all instances of Aurora as event participant were numbered consecutively;
- two clines modeled on Hasan's **[fig. 2]**, one for each text, with participant labels ordered from the most dynamic to the most passive;
- some questions and statements to help students making connections between data retrieved through the analysis of participant Aurora and power issues relating to her representation in the two texts.

5.2.3   Task and Discussion

Students performed the task in groups without teacher interference; though they were asked to follow directions for group work illustrated in b. and c. in section 4. Students were asked to, so to speak, position the two Auroras on the cline and exchange opinions on the meaning of her representation based on the results of their analysis and using appropriate metalanguage. Once students had completed the task, the teacher prompted the class to assign a participant role to each instance of Aurora marked in the texts. A discussion followed that was structured to encourage students to use reasoning based on the data collected in Table 3 below as a starting point for their reflections in an attempt to prevent them from expressing subjective and impressionistic opinions. Discussion focused on a comparison of data of the most dynamic and most passive roles (marked in bold in Table 3) in order to highlight differences between the two protagonists and show how the choice of different participant roles produces different power relations to suit different representations of women, produced in different contexts and by different social structures.

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Table 3 Aurora on a cline: A comparative analysis of Aurora as event participant based on Hasan's cline on dynamism

+ dynamic = er role	Aurora 1 (Sleeping Beauty)	Aurora2 (Maleficent)
Actor + Animate Goal	4.3%	16.66%
Actor + Inanimate Goal	8.6%	11.11%
Sayer + Receiver	0%	16.6%
Sayer	4.3%	0%
Senser + Phenomenon	4.3%	11.11%
Actor without Goal	13.04%	11.11%
Behaver	17.13%	5.5%
Carrier	4.3%	0%
Goal	**43.47**%	**27.77**%
+ passive = ed role		

6 Concluding Remarks: Some Ways Forward

This is an open conclusion providing brief reflections on this case study and some ways forward. In these past five years we have found that the dialogue we have started with students through their comments has been invaluable for introducing positive changes. Our planned actions are aimed at intensifying this dialogue following two directions. Firstly, we are planning to construct specific questionnaires and carry out discovery interviews to gather more detailed qualitative feedback specifically aimed at parts of the module content that remain difficult. Secondly, we aim to encourage students to become the actors involved in the process of redesigning the module, rather than passive beneficiaries. In order to do so, during the last two years we have devised a take-home test that students can opt for on a voluntary basis as an alternative to a quiz. The take-home test is very labor-intensive and requires that students engage in the preparation of material that we plan to adapt for further group work activities; it includes the selection of real texts, guided SFG analyses and the production of metacommentaries. So far, we have collected about seventy-two tests that we have analysed closely to form an idea of what kind of text-types and topics are more likely to attract students' interest. In the near future we plan to select a small sample of students' work to be uploaded with their permission on the module's learning platform to provide additional much needed practical work.

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